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Stone and Copper-Plate Inscriptions of Travancore
with 5 plates

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No. 1—The rock-cut cave at Kaviyūr.

The *List of Antiquities* of the Travancore State compiled in manuscript by the late Mr T. A. Gopinatha Rao has the following note against Kaviyūr, a village 4 miles north-east of Tiruvalla, the head-quarters of the taluk of the same name in the Qulon Dn.

“Besides the Śiva temple in the village, there is a rock-cut shrine dedicated to the same god in this place. From the sculptures in it, it could be assigned to the 7th century A. D. It has no inscriptions however.”

This place was therefore visited not only for an inspection of this ancient rock-cut temple, an architectural feature not so common in the West Coast but also for the purpose of checking the inscriptions published on pages 288 and 289 of Volume I of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, with a view to fill in certain blank spaces left untranscribed in them. In the case of the latter, the *in situ* examination has yielded good results and the texts of the inscriptions, as now revised, have also been given below.

Before proceeding to describe the cave at Kaviyūr, it will not be out of place here to trace the genesis of cave architecture in South India and make a comparative study of this cave with similar excavations lying scattered elsewhere in the Madras Presidency.

It is a recognised fact in the history of South Indian temple architecture that rock-cut temples were an epoch-making innovation introduced by the great Pallava king Mahēndravarman I (600-630), a pre-eminent figure among the early sovereigns of that dynasty and a cultured patron of letters and art, himself the author of a burlesque in Sanskrit, who on conversion by saint Appar (Trunāvukkaraiyar) from Jainism to the Śaivite cult exhibited his fervour by excavating temples in honor of the god of his new faith at several places within his dominions *viz.*, Trichinopoly, Pallāvaram, Māmundūr, Śiyamangalam, Mahēndravādi¹ and Dalāvanūr. In one such unfinished cave excavated perhaps under his personal supervision at Mandagappattu in the Chingleput District, he has boasted of his achievement in the following inscription:—

एतदनिष्टकमद्रुममलोहमसुधं विचित्रचित्तेन निर्मापितन्प्रेण ब्रह्मेश्वरविष्णुलक्षितायतनम् ।²

and has, here and elsewhere, complimented himself with the titles ‘*Vichitra-chitta*’ (the original-minded) and ‘*Chitrakārapuli*’ (*chaityakārapuli*? the excavator of *chaityas* or cave-temples), two *birudas* which he had deservedly earned on account of the new style of temples which his genius was able to introduce in South India. The negations specified in the description of the cave at Mandagappattu presuppose the existence, before the time of this king, of temples which were usually

1. Compare कारितं गुणभरेण विदार्य शिलाम् । (*Ep. Ind.* Vol IV, p 153)

2. *Mahēndravarman Inscription*, page 2

constructed of brick, timber, metal and mortar, and it is due to the impermanent nature of these building materials that no such temples constructed prior to the seventh century are extant now in their entirety. The discovery of a detached pillar of the cave-pillar type set up in a *mandapa* in the Ēkāmanātha temple at Conjeevaram¹ and containing several indisputable titles of this Pallava king, goes also a long way to confirm the above statement that earlier structural temples even in his own reign were of perishable material in which granite did not preponderate and that the Mandagappattu cave temple was perhaps the first of its kind excavated by him in South India on the model, presumably, of the caves at Undavalli and Bezwada in the north.

The rock temples excavated by this king present certain common features in plan and design which enable us to fix their authorship without great difficulty, and they have therefore been classified by Dr. Dubreuil of Pondicherry under one group called 'the Mahendra style'. They have an unornamental façade which is generally the eastern or western face of the rock in which they are cut and, on plan show a small square chamber for the location of the presiding deity and a rectangular hall in front, the roof of which is supported by rock-cut pillars and pilasters of a peculiar ungainly type called the 'cave-pillars'. These solid pillars hewn out of the rock consist of three sections, the top and bottom portions being in the form of cubes about 2' in dimension each side, while their middle portions are short shafts with chamfered corners and an octagonal section obtained by bevelling off the angles of the cubical portions, i. e. they are combination pillars of the *brahmakānta* and the *viśṇukānta* varieties. The faces of the upper and lower cubes are bare, but are also sometimes ornamented with medallions of conventional lotuses resembling those found on the Buddhist rails. These pillars have no separate capitals and are surmounted by simple brackets or corbels whose ends which are rounded upwards, are either bare or sometimes decorated with horizontal rows of roll ornament. The massive and rather uncouth proportions of these pillars suggest that they were tentative experimentations in pillar-chiselling, while the pioneer architects of the rock excavations were apprehensive as to the proper pillar strength necessary to support the enormous load of solid granite above, but with increased experience and training the southern craftsmen evolved in the succeeding styles of cave temples well-designed pillars (probably after wooden models), which though they missed the antique architectural effect and stability of the earlier type were decidedly of greater elegance and of better proportions. The rectangular hall in front of the sanctuary sometimes contains one or more panels of excellent sculpture representing some puranic theme Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava without great distinction. The central shrine in the excavations of Mahendravarman's time is a square chamber with plain undecorated walls, enshrining a cylindrical *linga* hewn out of the rock with a *yōni*-pedestal of the usual type. Two *dvārapālas* guard its entrance, each one standing in a niche on either side of the doorway and leaning on a sinister-looking bludgeon, his staff of office. The floor of the hall of the cave is raised a few feet above the natural ground level and is reached by a flight of three or four rock-cut steps, and the central shrine is again slightly more elevated than this hall. In front, the two-feet-wide verandah is generally sheltered by a heavy projecting cornice also cut out of the rock either

plain or decorated with the 'dormer-window' ornament. This, in short, is a typical excavation of the great Mahēndravarman's time.

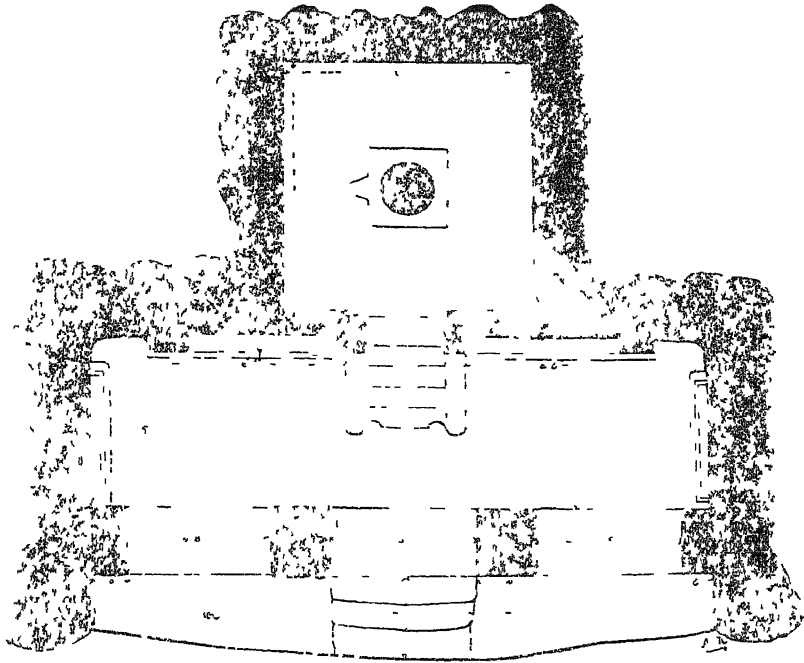


Fig 1

The Kaviyūr cave whose site plan is given above presents many points of similarity to the early type of rock-cut temples just now described. In common with the generality of Pallava excavations of Mahēndravarman's time, this cave has the usual orientation of a Śiva's shrine, its entrance facing west, the direction of the setting sun: and the cave has therefore been scooped out in the eastern of two massive boulders fronting each other and separated by a fissure nearly 15' wide, on the summit of a low hillock of a friable variety of rock and debris, that raises its head above the surrounding cocoanut plantations, half a mile to the north of the principal Śiva temple of the village. The rock is of a coarse texture and the cave and the sculptures in it have therefore easily lent themselves to decay on account of the disintegrating action both of age and the weather. The wall surfaces and other portions have not been dressed with precision and neatness as in the case of excavations in closer-grained rock.

The floor of the cave is a few feet above the natural ground level and is approached by a flight of three crude steps hollowed out of the rock itself. In front is a narrow verandah $2\frac{1}{2}'$ wide unprotected by the usual convex cornice moulding, and two grooves have therefore been cut at the ends of the top to receive a long wooden beam spanning the width of the cave, from which a temporary sunshade could be projected in timber or other cheaper material. The cave is 19' 8" broad and $8\frac{1}{2}'$ high.

Two pillars 8' 8" in height divide the breadth of the cave into three openings two of which are each 5' broad, while that on the proper right is

slightly smaller, being only 4' 8". The two pillars are of the early Pallava cave-type but their bottom and top portions do not form perfect cubes, as the pillars slightly taper upwards. The top block measures 1' 7" by 2' 2" and is 1' 4" in height, while the bottom portion is slightly bigger in dimensions being 1' 10" by 2' 2" and 2' 10" in height. The octagonal shaft is 3' 3" high and its facets vary from 7" to 9" in width. The simple corbels which surmount these pillars are 2' 3" deep and their ends which are turned upwards are decorated with a slight variant of the usual roll ornament in horizontal rows. To balance the view of the façade there are two pilasters at either extremity of the opening, the one on the proper right being 8" in projection and the other nearly 10".

The central shrine is a square cell measuring 8' each side and has a level ceiling whose height is slightly less than that of the other portions of the cave. This chamber is absolutely devoid of ornamentation and enshrines in its centre a cylindrical rock-cut *linga* whose crude *yōni*-pedestal is a separate piece slipped on to it through its socket. The door-jambs and sill of the entrance appear to have been replaced at a later date after the original portions of the rock-cut entrance had perhaps deteriorated.

The rectangular hall in front of this sanctum measures 19' 8" by 5' and contains, one on either side of the doorway, two niches 6' 5" broad and 6' 3" high mounted on 2 feet pedestals of the ordinary variety consisting of three rows of plain band ornament. The niches are flanked by pilasters each 11" broad and 6' 3" high, which support at their tops double brackets surmounted by a plain architrave contiguous to the ceiling. The niche to the left of the entrance contains a life-size figure of a *dvārapāla*, who is limb for limb a replica of the door-keeper guarding the entrance at the left in the Mahēndravārman cave at Trichinopoly. His head dress is tall and conical and from beneath it his locks fall in picturesque curls on his shoulder. He leans with an aggressive attitude on a formidable club round which a cobra has entwined itself. He wears no ornaments that adorn him are the *karnakumḍalā*, the *kṛmṇa*, the *śaṅkha*, the *śaṅkha*, the *bāhuvalaya*, and the *ūrusūtra*. The corresponding figure in the other panel is not a duplicate of this door-keeper, as one would expect to find, but cuts a different pose. He has his hands crossed on his breast and stands with head slightly bent in a respectful attitude of attention. He wears his hair in a tangled mass knotted in the middle (*jatāmakuta*) and the ornaments that decorate his person are the same as those of his comrade on his right. But though he does not wield the club, the insigne of his calling as gate-keeper, he has to be identified as such in as much as these personages are always represented in pairs in front of Śiva and Viṣṇu temples. It is a point worth noting that both these chamberlains are tall, well-knit figures with only two muscular hands—an anatomical feature characteristic of early sculptures.

The northern and southern wings of this hall also contain respectively a well-executed image of Gaṇeśa with four hands and a standing life-size figure of a bearded man. It may be noted that a similar rock-cut Śiva temple at Arittapatti in the Melūr taluk of the Madura District also contains an image of Gaṇeśa in one wing of the porch in front of the *garbhagrha*. As for the individual with the



VIEW OF THE ROCK CUT CAVE AT KAVIYUR



DETAIL OF SCULPTURE IN THREE OF ITS PANELS.

peaked beard his identity cannot well be established in the absence of any elucidative labels or inscriptions in the cave itself. He wears his hair in the top-knot fashion peculiar to the west coast and his pendulous ears which are much damaged, show indications of having once been decorated with ear rings. He has no *ya-jñōpavīta*, but wears only a lower cloth hanging up to his shins in the orthodox mode. His feet are broken off at the instep on account of the decomposition of the coarse-grained rock. He keeps his arms akimbo, and his left hand which rests on his hip, also holds a jug-like vessel with an oval body, a long stoppered neck and a short thick spout. The shape of this vessel is peculiar unlike that of its modern counterpart, the *gindī*, the popular utensil in every Malayāli household and reminds one curiously of a Greek vase or a Mughal hukka, with which specimens however it could never have had an affinity whatsoever. As the image represented cannot be that of any divinity known to iconography, it may be presumed that it stands for a portrait-statue of perhaps the author of the cave itself; but the question as to who and what he was, whether he was a royal personage or a private individual, is a poser for the solution of which, the cave furnishes no clue except that from the general appearance and style of the excavation, one may not be far wrong in assigning it to the 8th century A. D. or thereabouts.

In this connection, it is worthy of consideration that stone epigraphs of Chēra kings are not found to the south of Tiruvalla and that even the neighbouring temples at Peruneyil and Tirukkadittānam, which are *structural* monuments of the circular *vēsara* type peculiar to Malabar, contain inscriptions of Bhāskara-Ravi-varman¹ of the end of the 10th century A. D., while the Śiva temple at Kaviyūr² itself, another notable example of the same type, contains two stone records dated so early as Kalī 4051 and 4052, i. e., A. D. 950-51. The cave-temple can therefore be presumed to have come into existence during Chēra rule at some date prior to this later limit. Popular tradition, here as elsewhere, attributes its excavation to supernatural agency and one such yarn, an obvious copy of the myth current at Rāmēśvaram regarding an identical incident, actually derives the name of the village Kaviyūr from Kapi, the monkey-god (Hanumān), who is stated to have installed a *līṅga* and constructed a temple here for his master's worship. Instances of similar fanciful derivations of place-names are not rare in the *sthala-purāṇas*, but it is extremely doubtful if Rama ever paid a visit to Kaviyūr in his southern perigrinations and requisitioned his aid-de-camp to bring a *līṅga* for his worship at that particular place. A rational explanation for the origin and date of the cave will be to suggest that it was excavated on the design of similar caves existing elsewhere in the Trichy, Madura and Tinnevely Districts, with which models the sculptor of the Kaviyūr cave may have been familiar. The Pallava king Narasimhavarman I (c 630-68) himself claims to have vanquished the Kēraḷas,³ and if this is not a mere boast, it will mean that this meeting may have served as an occasion for the knowledge of cave architecture of the earlier Pallava style to filter into the Kēraḷa country. It may also be noted that the Narasimha cave-temple⁴ at

1 *Trav Archl Series*, Vol II, pp. 33-49

2. *Ibid.* Vol I, pp. 288-89

3 Kuram plates, *S. I. I* Vol I, p 152.

4 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 318

Ānamalai in the Madura District came into existence in 770 A. D. excavated as it was by a minister of the Pāṇḍya king, Jātala-Parāntaka, and that the monolithic cave at Nānakal in the Salem District within the old Chēra dominions and called the Adiyendra-Vishṇugriha in a Pallava-Grantha inscription, is believed to have been constructed by an early Adigamān chief by about the end of the 8th century.¹ Another rock-cut cave nearer home is the one at Tirunandikkarai within the State, whose age has been tentatively fixed² as the latter half of the 8th century from the palaeographical indications of the early Vatteluttu record engraved on a pillar therein. From all these premises, the Kaviyūr cave can also be assigned to the second half of the 8th century if not earlier, although a tendency to give it a slightly earlier age is justifiable from its close resemblance to early Pallava work.

No. 2—Revised Text of the Kaviyur Inscription of Kali 4052.

- 1 ஸ்வதி ஸ்ரீ [11] கலியுகம் துடங்கி நாலாயிரதது அய்ம்பத்திராமாண்டு க-
வியூர் ஊரா அவிர்ராதததால முக்காலவட்டததுக கூடி கொயிலு
முள்ளிருக்க மங்கலதது நாராயணங் கெயவன கிடங்குபறவுள் தில-
தமங்கலத்தொடியும் எட்டிக்கரியில் அருபதின கலமுங் கொடுத்தா-
ன் [1] மங்கலதது நாராயணங் கிரிடன கொடுத்த பூமி குமாரக-
கொற்றக்கரி நூற்றுக்கலமும ஈரை இளாகை 'நெட்டொடியில் நாலொ-
னறும ஈரைக்கு [இளா]ததுக்கு' அவகரிடைக் கொண்ட ஐம்பதின
கலமும திருக்கவியூரத் தெவாகு இரண்டு நந்தாவிகளும் அததது
பந்திரடிக்கு நானாழியரி திருவமீரதும் உச்சுக்கு நாமியரி திருவக்கிர
மிரண்டு கலமு மிப்பூமியா லிருவரும்
- 2 அமைச்சரா [1*] இச்செலவும் இச்செலவினுக்கு அமைச்ச பூமியும் வில-
க்கப் பெறா [1*] விலக்கு மூராளா வெவ்வெற்று வகையால் பெரு-
மாளக்கு ஐம்பத்திரு கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [1] நாடுவா-
ழுவாக்கு இருபத்தைங் கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [1] தா-
னமும பரடையும் மூரான(ம)மைக்கு மிடையிடுங் கெட்டு முழிக்களத்
தொழுக்கப்படி கச்சம் பிழைச்சாராவது [1*] விலக்குமவகள்க கனு-
பந்தம் பறையுமவகளும் இததண்டமெ படுவது [1] ஊரா ரவிரோத-
ததாலக் கூடியு மிச செலவு மற்றொன்றினுக்கு செலுத்திக்கப் பெ-
றா [1*] 'இச்செலவெல்லா மொட்டித் தெயகாலதது செலுத்தா
க்கால முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியா'³ [1*] இப்பூமி எல்லாம உழவு
மங்கலத்தவகள் தந்ததியில் மூத்தொரிருவரும் சிறைக்கரையில் மூத்த-
வனுங் கூடி அடுத்தது பலம் முக்காலவட்டதது கொடுப-
- 3 பிக்கக் கடவியா [11*]

1 Madras Epigl Report for 1906, p 76
2 Trav. Archl. Series, Vol. III, p 201.
3 No. 1 of 1087 published in the Trav Archl. Series, Vol. I, p. 288.
4, 5. The portions between inverted commas are engraved separately below the original inscription and had been left out. They are now tentatively inserted at these places

No. 3—Revised Text of the Kaviyur Inscription of Kali 4051.¹

1. ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11⁺] கலியுகந் துடங்கி நாலாயிரத[து⁺] அமபத்தொரர மா-
ண்டு திருக்கவியூர பட்டாரக[ர*] கரு மகிழஞ்செரித் தெவன் செந்நன்
திருவிளகருந் திருவமிருதுந் திருவக்கிரமுந் திருச்சந்நணமுந் திருப்பு-
கையு மமச்சான [11*] விளக்கினுகு உரி நெய்யும் இருநாழி ஆரித்
திருவமிரதும் புகையரமணணிநா செலவிது [11*] தெவன் செநந
மைச்ச காராளராத செலித்திச்ச கொளளக்கட வியா[11*]
- 2 ஊராள செநநனகரி திருவக்கிரத்தினனு குடிசுறு சநதனத்தின்னு புகை-
சுரு சிறுபுனயிலதலை சாததன் கூறு அமைச்சான [11*] முழிக்களத்து
கச்சத்தொடொகரும —

No. 4—Copper-plate record of a Ramnad Setupati Kollam 945.

The subjoined Tamil record is engraved on both the sides of a single copper plate kept in the Palace Chellamvagai at Trivandrum. It measures 10" x 5" exclusive of an ornamental projection at the middle of the top of the plate, which is 4" broad and 2.5" high and through the centre of which has been bored the ring-hole of the plate. The writing on the sheet is in the Tamil alphabet of the latter half of the 18th century in which the record is also dated, except for one line of writing in Telugu in the middle of the first side, the sign-manual of the Sētopatis, viz., ஸ்ரீராமநாமஸபாமிஸஹாயம் (*Śrī-Rāmanāthasvāmi-sahāyam*), Telugu having been first introduced into official routine and in the sign-manual by Vijayaraghunātha-Sētopati (1647-72).¹ The inscription contains both the Śaka date 1691 and its Kollam equivalent 945 which corresponded to the year Virōdhi, and the astronomical details furnished therein work out to A. D. 1769, Novr. 5.

The record registers the sale-deed given by Muttu-Kāmalīnga Vijayaraghunātha Sētopati Karttadēvar to the Travancore king Śrī Padmanābhādāsa Vañchi Balarāma-varma-Kulaśēkharapperumāl Mahārāja, in respect of the sale for 4000 *varāhaṇ* of the village of Kākkūr, which was afterwards presented by the latter to the temple of Rāmanāthasvāmī at Rāmēśvaram for conducting a service

1 No 2 of 1087 published in the *T. A. S.* Vol I, p. 289

2 One other inscription in the Śiva temple is engraved on a pillar in the *suru-mandapa* and records that the pillar was the gift of a certain Bhattān of Vellitturutt. It is in Malayalam characters and reads as follows

- 1 வெஹிஹு-
- 2 னணி ஸ்த-
- 3 திரி பணி-
- 4 வெஹிஹு
- 5 னுண் ஹ [11*]

3. *Sendamāl*, Vol VI, page 45

(*kattalai*) to the god in his name While this deed was drawn up, the Sētopati is stated to have been present in (the place called) *Viraiyādagandan* to the east of Kāttūr *alias* Kulōttungaśōlanallūr, a village in Togavū-kūriam Kulōttungaśōlanallūr and Viraiyādagandan were two of the many places which the Ramnad chiefs used as their headquarters Of these the latter is in the Rājasingamangalaśekharam in Sētu-nādu ¹

We learn ² that on the death of Śella-Tēvar *alias* Vijayaraghunātha-Sētopati in 1760 A. D. his nephew Muttu-Rāmalinga Vijayaraghunātha-Sētopati, the infant son of Muttutiruvāy-Nāchchiyār, who had been perhaps adopted ³ by his uncle was placed on the throne under the regency of his mother helped by the able Dalavāy Dāmōdaram Pillai ⁴ The prince must have been only about ten years of age at the time of this epigraph Another copper-plate record of his, dated in Śaka 1693, has been registered as No 7 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910-11, where as here, he has been decorated with a number of high sounding and fanciful titles, many of which appear to have been copied from the long lists of similar attributes prefacing the later Vijayanagara grants Some of these, however, such as *Tēvanaganādhīpan* (the lord of Tēvar-nagara) *Ravikulasekharan* (the crest-jewel of the Solar race), *Hanumakētanan* and *Garudakētanan* (the bearer of the Hanumān and Garuda flags) were also borne by his predecessors This Sētopati has been called Muttu-Rāmalinga Vijayaraghunātha-Sētopati Kāttadēvar in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* noticed above, but the last component of this title must correctly be *Karttālēvar* instead of *Kāttadēvar* The Sētopatis held the subordinate position of vassals of the Madura Nāyakas who were themselves the Governors of the southern provinces of the Vijayanagara Empire, such as it was at that time The Nāyakas did not assume any independent royal titles but were content with being called 'Karttākkal' (Skt *kartā*=an agent or representative), which Dr. Caldwell has rendered into the English equivalent of 'High Commissioner'. The Sētopatis, who were appointed by these Nāyakas as *Pālāyakkānar* on military tenure for the collection of revenue and the maintenance of peace and order in the neighbouring disaffected regions, must have also styled themselves as 'Karttākkal' *Dēva* is also the hereditary title of the Maravas

In his *Madura Manual*, Nelson has abstracted from Ponnusvami-Tēvar's *Memorandum* some interesting data which explain, with a show of plausibility, the origin of some of these *brudas* and their significance The appointment of *Tondiṇṇṭurakāvalan* (the warden of the Tondi harbour) appears to have been conferred on Ativīra Raghunātha-Sētopati for his help against the Chōlas, who had invaded the Pāndya country, while the privileges of raising the Hanumān and the Garuda-banner seem to have been conceded by the Vijayanagara kings for

1 *Sendamāl*, Vol II, p 34

2 Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol II, p 231

3 *Vide* the title '*Raghunātha-Sētopati-rāmsōddhāraṇana*' in line 30 of the text

4 The hero of the Tamil poem called the '*Vēlvikkōva*'

5 Tondi is a harbour to the east of Madura and to the north of Ramnad and it was famous in ancient days for its seaborne trade. It is different from its namesake on the West Coast called the Kuttuvan-tondi (Kaḍalundi)

distinguished field service against their Muhammadan foes. The Sētopatis won also the title of '*Chōlamandala-pratiśthāpanāchārya*' by driving out the Telugu enemies of the Chōlas in the capacity of Pāndya vassals; while a later scion of that family assumed the title '*kandanādu-kondu-kondanādu-kodādān*' (he who conquers countries seen and never lets go the conquered territories) in commemoration of his decisive victory over the Chōlas, whom he had pursued into their own dominions annexing Pattukkōttai and Arantāngi. This latter title was also borne by the kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty together with many others, among which the sporting epithet '*ajayāśāhā-lakṣmīnātha*' (who witnessed the elephant-hunt) was a special *bīruda* allotted by Devanay II. Muttu-Krishnappa-Nāyaka of Madura (1602-09), who is credited with the revival of the dynasty of the Ramnad Sētopatis and with the installation of Śadayaka-Tēvar on that throne in 1604 A. D., is stated to have given him a considerable slice of land comprising the present districts of Ramnad and Śivagaṅga, with the express obligation that he should keep in check the turbulent Marava chiefs who harassed and blackmailed the pilgrims journeying to the holy island of Rāmēśvaram. and from that time at least, if not earlier from the days of Rāma himself who is believed by the Ramnad Chiefs to have first appointed them as Sētopatis (the guardians of Sētu), they have assumed the titles '*Sētumūlarakṣā-dhurandhara*' and '*Rāmanāthasvāmīkārya-dhurandhara*'. The Rāmēśvaram temple itself contains the effigies of many of the members of this dynasty. The epithets '*Pāṇḍimandala-sthāpanāchārya*' (establisher of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom) and '*tālikku-vēli*' (the fence round *i.e.*, protector of the Queen's marriage-badge) were bestowed on Tirumalai Raghunātha-Sētopati (1647-72) by the great Tirumalai-Nāyaka supplemented by the gift of the three large villages of Tiruppūvanam, Tiruchchuli and Pallimadam, in gratitude for the prompt and powerful aid that this chief rendered him in A. D. 1659 in routing the Mysore army in its notorious 'hunt for noses' and in saving Madura¹ from utter ruin at the hands of her vengeful foe. He was also called '*Dalasīṅgam*' and is the hero of the *Dalasīṅgamālai* of Aḷaḡiyachirāmbala-Kavīrājar of Mithilāippatti. Another Raghunātha-Sētopati, better known by the more popular sobriquet of Kīlavan-Sētopati, who was mainly instrumental in killing the Muhammadan adventurer Rustum-Khan, was awarded the title of '*pararājākēśari*' or '*pakaimannarśīṅgam*' by Chokkanātha-Nāyaka; while similar help against the Muhammadan invaders of Madura earned for the Ramnad chiefs the title of '*tulukkaradala-vibhataṇ*' and '*tulukkarāmōham-tavirttān*'. Many of the other remaining embellishments are more poetic than significant, more the flattering compliments of court poets than meaningful titles deservedly earned. The conflict in which this Muttu-Rāmaṅga-Sētopati was engaged with the combined forces of the Nawab of the Karnatic and the East India Company in 1773, his defeat and incarceration for seven years in Trichinopoly and his subsequent re-installation in 1780 A. D. are facts of later history with which our record has no connection. It may however be noted that it was this Sētopati who finished in A. D. 1769 the third *prākāra* of the Rāmēśvaram temple which was begun by Muttu-Raghunātha in A. D. 1740.

1. மனுக்கோடி கரத்தது மதுரையுங் கரத்தது வளருந்தெய்வத்

கனுக்கோடி கரத்தவ னேரரு நா த தளசிகமே — *Dalasīṅgamālai* (*Senidamīl*, Vol. IV, p. 49)

The first attribute namely Padmanābhādāsa, 'the servant of lord Padmanābha', assumed by the sovereign in this inscription is in conformity with what is recorded of him in his book¹ referred to above, *viz.*, that in the presence and with the implied consent of his brother Ravivarman and nephew, his namesake, he gave away his kingdom to god Padmanābha, while he contented himself to rule it in His name and as His servant. Although the king has called himself as Bālarāma-varman except in one instance² and has named his work as *Bālarāmabharatam*, it is evident that he refers by the expression 'भागिनेयः स्वनामा' to his nephew Rāma-varman (Aśvati-Tirunāl) and not to his grand-nephew Bālarāmavarman II (Avitam-Tirunāl) for the reason, that the latter who was born in Kollam 957 (1782) stepped into the *yuvarāja's* shoes only after the death of the elder claimant Aśvati-Tirunāl in Kollam 963, and that by this time Ravivarman, the king's younger brother (evidently the Makayiram-Tirunāl of the Genealogical Table), who was present at the dedication ceremony had died in Kollam 961.³ This work must have been composed by the king in the early years of his reign between 934 and 940 when he was still known by the more familiar name of Bālarāmavarman, although he may have discarded the prefix 'Bāla' after his coronation, *tulābhāra* and *hiranyagarbha* ceremonies which he has referred to in his work⁴ and which are known to have been celebrated during the regime of the minister Mārttānda Pillai Dalavāy (Kollam 934-39)⁵

It may be noted that an *ōlai* document⁶ in the Travancore Vernacular Records Office distinctly states that the dedication of the Travancore State to god Padmanābha was made in Kollam 925 in the reign of Vīra-Bālamārttandavarman himself; and as there is nothing improbable in it, the statement of the *Bālarāmabharatam* which claims the achievement for its author Bālarāmavarman has to be considered in the light of a confirmatory repetition of the original dedication by Bālamārttandavarman which ceremonial the dutiful nephew went through perhaps at the time of his coronation within the first four or five years of his reign, in the company of the two princes of his family who were living at the time, namely his brother Ravivarman (Makayiram-Tirunāl) and nephew Rāmavarman (Aśvati-Tirunāl).

This king is reported to have undertaken a pilgrimage to the holy island of Rāmēśvaram in his sixtieth year in Kollam 959⁷ and that in addition to the fulfilment of this religious visit incumbent on every devout Hindu, he also satisfied

1 तदनुजरविवर्मा भागिनेयः स्वनामा
स्वयमपि स तु वञ्चिष्मापतिश्चैकभावः ।

सकलमुबनभार पद्मनाभाय दत्त्वा

मनुपतिकुलभूषे स्वामिश्रुत्यस्वभाव ॥—*Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol IV, p 110

2 श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरवञ्चिभूषे

विद्वद्भियो निखिलसूरिगणभ्य आर्यः । —*Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol IV, p. 107.

3 *State Manual*, Vol. I, p 333 and 385

4 श्रीपद्मनाभपुरतस्स हिरण्यगर्भ-

दानं तुलापुरुषदानमजस्रदीक्षः । —*Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol IV, p. 108

5 *State Manual*, Vol I p 370

6. *Vide infra*

7 *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 385.

his thirst for knowledge about the administration of the neighbouring dominions, which helped him much in effecting considerable improvement in the material prosperity of his own subjects. The donation registered in the present record is however 14 years earlier than the date of the royal tour of pilgrimage mentioned above

In the *Āryavana-māhātmyam* which is a Sanskrit work composed in honor of god Śāsta at Āryankāvu, the halfway halt of the earlier days in the heart of the Ghat jungles on the pass connecting Travancore with the plains of Tinnevely and now a station on the Qulon-Shencotta railway, this king is stated to have constructed good roads for the pilgrims resorting to that famous temple, to have policed the ill-reputed jungles which harboured many lawless brigands and wild animals and to have generally attended with parental care to the welfare of his subjects. Although the *purāna* under reference is, as usual with religious literature of this type, written in a mythical style as having been narrated by sage Agastya to his wife Lōpāmudrā and professes to be an excerpt from the *Skānda-purāna*, there are some indications to show that it may have been composed during the reign of the king himself, if not later. A few relevant verses are extracted below,¹ and it is noteworthy that this work also indirectly refers to the dedication of the dominions to god Padmanābha.

The language of the inscription is Tamil which is free from errors of composition, but mistakes in spelling and the introduction of Grantha letters in purely Tamil words and *vice versa* are largely noticeable. Sanskrit words have also suffered from wrong orthography in many instances and the corrected equivalents of some of them have been given in the foot-notes, where necessary

The proper names occurring in the record are all mentioned among the boundaries of the village of Kākkūr and they have to be looked for in Ramnal

- 1 अधुना श्रूयते तत्र महारण्येऽपि दुर्गेमे ।
 रामेण पृथ्वीपतिना मार्गश्च सुगमः कृतः ॥
 मण्टपा विविधास्तीरे निर्भरस्य कृतास्तथा ।
 क्षेत्रं च निर्मितं दिव्यं हरहर्योर्महात्मनो ॥
 अरण्यपत्तनग्रामसहितञ्च तदद्भुतम् ।
 अनेकजनसंकीर्णं सर्वलोकोपकारकम् ॥

Although king Rāma mentioned above is the hero of the *Rāmāyana* to suit the puranic background of the *māhātmyam*, the real reference seems to be to his namesake Rāma Varman (A.D. 1758—98) about whom the following verses are noted—

किञ्चान्यत्तस्य साहाय्यं शृणुष्व श्राव्यमद्भुतम् ।
 श्रीपद्मनाभदासस्य चेरनृपस्य धीमतः ॥
 एतद्राज्यं समस्तञ्च पद्मनाभायमेव तु ।
 योगनिद्रेच्छुना तेन दत्तं राज्ञे पुरा त्रिये ॥
 तस्य शास्तुर्वैलेनैव केरकेशोऽत्र भूयत् ।

व्याघ्रादि भीतिं सर्वेषां मनुष्याणां निराकरोत् ॥ — These stray verses are from the chapter called *Ramacherasamāgamah*

district They are Tatātakai-nādu (perhaps named after goddess Mīnākshī, Tatātakai-prāttīyār), the sub-division in which Kakkū was situated, Gadaiyan-kan-māy, Karumala-kanmāy, Kairūsal-kulam, Pūnda-kulam, among the names of the tanks and Kunārakuruchchi and Mudukulattūr among the names of places. Tokavūr-kūiram¹ is one of the seven sub-divisions into which the Kāna-nādu, which extended as far as Tondi and Kālayār-kōyil, was split up from olden days, while Kāna-nādu was again a district of Panri-nādu, the tract of land lying between the Pāndya and Chōla kingdoms

Text.²

East-side

- 1 உ ஷ்ஷித்ரீ [1:] ஸாஸ்வாநந ஸகாஸ்ய[ஸ்] து ஸாகாந க லீ தனமெந செ-
லலாநநந
- 2 கொஹி ககாஸாநி ஆணடு வீரோதிநாஸாவஸ்யஸு சுறபசி ஸீ உடுக உ
- 3 ஸாநஸாவஸ்யஸு உகதேரடந(௧)கூததிரஸு வலிவடவகூததநு ஷ்ஷியுஞ
சூலந-
- 4 ஸமபாகமு ஸாஸவாஸகரணமும் பெற்ற ஸாஸதீததில ஸீஹாந்ணெடு-
- 5 ஸுரநு 4 செவெநகராயிவநு ஸெதாஸுருநகாஸாஸநநந ஆரியராயிரக-
- 6 ஸாஸபாடந பாஸககூததபபுவராயிரகணு கணுநாடும கொண்டு கெ-
- 7 ஸாஸநாடு கொடாநாந பாஸமணடலஸாவநாஸாயிதாடு சொழம-
- 8 ஸுயுயுதிஷாஸவநாஸாயிதாடு தொணுணுலகணுயுசணு இளமுநகொந-
- 9 குபாழபபாஸாஸிஸமும் எமமணடலமு[ம] 5 மஜவெடடை கொணடரு-
- 10 ஸிப ஸாஸாயிராஸு ஸாஸவ(௧)ஸாஸஸுரநு ஸாஸகாஸாணு ஸாஸமடிஸ்.
- 11 ஸாஸ ஸாஸமூஸிஸகநு இரவிசுருஸெஸவநு சொரிமுததுவனனியநு⁷ அந-
தம-
- 12 பிறகணடன⁸ ஸாஸககாஸாஸகணடநு ஷ்ஷிஷிஷாஸாயிதமிணடன ஸுஷ்ஷிஸ்
ஸுஷ்ஷு
- 13 ஸுஷ்ஷஸகொட்டமடககி இளஞ்சிங்கந தளஞ்சிங்கம பஸகமணனாஸிங்க
மாததுப-
- 14 பாஸசி கடஸிறபாஸசி மதபபுவியடைககலககாத்தான தாலிக்குவெலி⁹ சத-

1 வெற்றிவாழ்கின்ற திருமிழைக்கூற்ற மிருத முதனாககூற்றம்
பத்தியான அருமபூர்ககூற்றம் பாரமான திருகாணககூற்றம்
முததமிழோ நொஞ்ஞாக்கூற்றம் முந்நைமபான கொடுமுனாககூற்றம்
எத்திசையான இனயானகுழககூற்றம்— *Sendamirai*, Vol. XIII, p 163

2 Registered as No 1 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1098 M 1

3 The name of the *Varāṇas* (astrological division of the day) is *Gaia* (elephant) *Varāṇas*.

4 Read தேவைநமராயிவநு, the lord of Tēvai-nāḍavay / e, Kāmanāthapuram (according to the Dictionaries), but Tēvai has been correctly identified with Rāmēsvaram itself in a Tamil poem called the *Tēvai-nāḍ* of Palapattadai-Sokkavāḍhappulavar, verses 226 and 245.

5 Read எமமணடலமும் கொண்டு மஜவெடடை ஸாஸருஸிப

6 Read ஸாஸகாஸாயிஸக

7 வணங்காத தெவவைப பொருமால சொரிமுதது வனனியன பெ-
ணணங்காரு மாபபன ரகுநாதன— *Oruttamakkūṭam*, verse 91

8 ஸாஸதோயமசஸிநனனாநதமபரகணடன முதது
ஸாஸதோயதநசதியா வேள ரகுநாதன— *ibid.*, v 120

9. Read ஸுஷ்ஷாயிவதி

- 15 திராதிமன்மினாடன வன்னியாட்டடந்தவிளத்தான தொண்டியநதுமை
காட்டிந்
- 16 துபகெபத்திந் தநகெதனன உமரகெதனன ஸிவகெதனன
தொட்டககு
- 17 தநகெபொறுமககுயகந் பல்லுககுயகந் விலககுயகந் பரிக்கு
தககுயகந் து-
- உஸ்ரிநாநாயவூரிஸவாயு
- 18 துவுக்குதுகத்தியன வத்திமரிதுருந் விவெணபாமலை உபையலாம-
[து*] உலலாச்சன-
- 19 ஸபகநிதலாபுத்திவிஜிவிநெடிந் திலதததமடமாதா மடலெழுதவ-
- 20 ருலெபுந் விஜயருக்திகாந் சுரசராவனாராந் அடியாரவென்ககாறன்
- 21 மீதணடைசெமத்தலை விளங்கு மிருதாளினான துஷ்மிமுஷ்ஜிஷ்வரி-
வாருந்-
- 22 துதுககந்தை-விபாடன் துதுககாரோஹநதவிளத்தான ஓட்டியாத்ள-
- 23 விபாடந் ஓட்டியாரோஹநதவிளத்தான பரதளவிபாடன் மலைகலங்கினும-
- 24 நகலங்காதான சுன்னசத்திரவொடன ஹுமொககெவெருந் வரிவவ-
தாயு-
- 25 ருநாந் அநெகயுஹவூதிஷாவகாரன செம்பிவளநாடன் செங்காவிககு-
- 26 டையு மதினமெல விருதுவெணகவரிபெற்றவன் ஸகருவாஜி ஜிஜிதுக்தி-
ந்வ-
- 27 ரவாந் ராநாயவூரிகாயுதயுரந் ரான்தொகலூககத்தத்தில் காததூ-
ரான
- 28 குலெதததுங்கசொழநலவா[ர*] கிளபால விரையாககண்டனில் விளங-
கிய த-
- 29 லாபுந் ஷிதாநாதிஷாடபுரஹாநதயுரந் ரான உயிரணுதமஹாபாஜி ரவி-
- 30 குருசெகர வயுநாதசசெதுபதி காதததெவர வாகுள வம்போஜாரகாரான
- 31 -ா- முகதூபபேங்க விஜபெரவயுநாடிசசெதுபதி காதததெவரவரகன
தர்-
- 32 பரபெவரு[வ]நாத குயீதத்தில் ஸ்ரிவத்தநாஹாஸ வந்நிஷாரு ராஜவஜ்ஜ-

- 1 Revanta, the son of Sriva and Badarayana, was born riding on a white horse
rule, *वृतीयश्च रेवन्तोऽश्वमवाहकः*

रेवन्तोऽश्वे च रेवन्तः खड्गरी धन्वी तनुवधुक् ।

अश्वारूढ समुत्पन्नो बाणतूणी समान्वत ।

2. "குருமெல மே ததனவாய ரகுநாயகன்" — *Oruvalkilkanai*, verse 39.

3. The sign-mural of the Rannad chiefs is engraved in Telugu in the middle of the plate, as
adopted as the court-language by Vijaya Gannad in Tanjavur. — *Sen-*
VI p 45.

4. Read ஸாஹித்தி

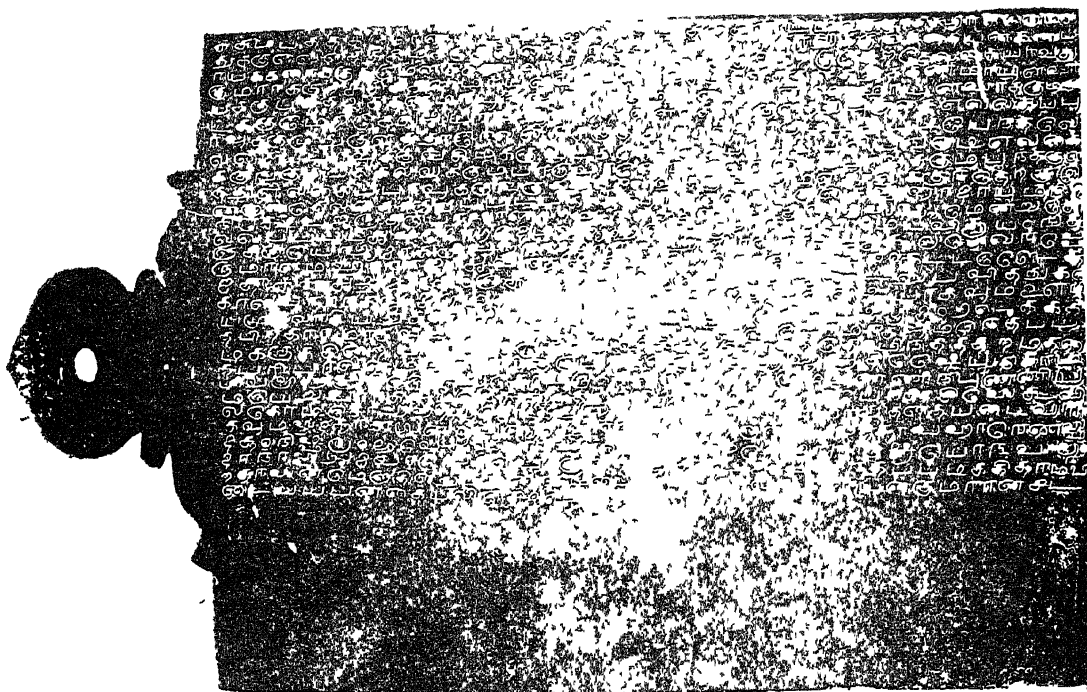
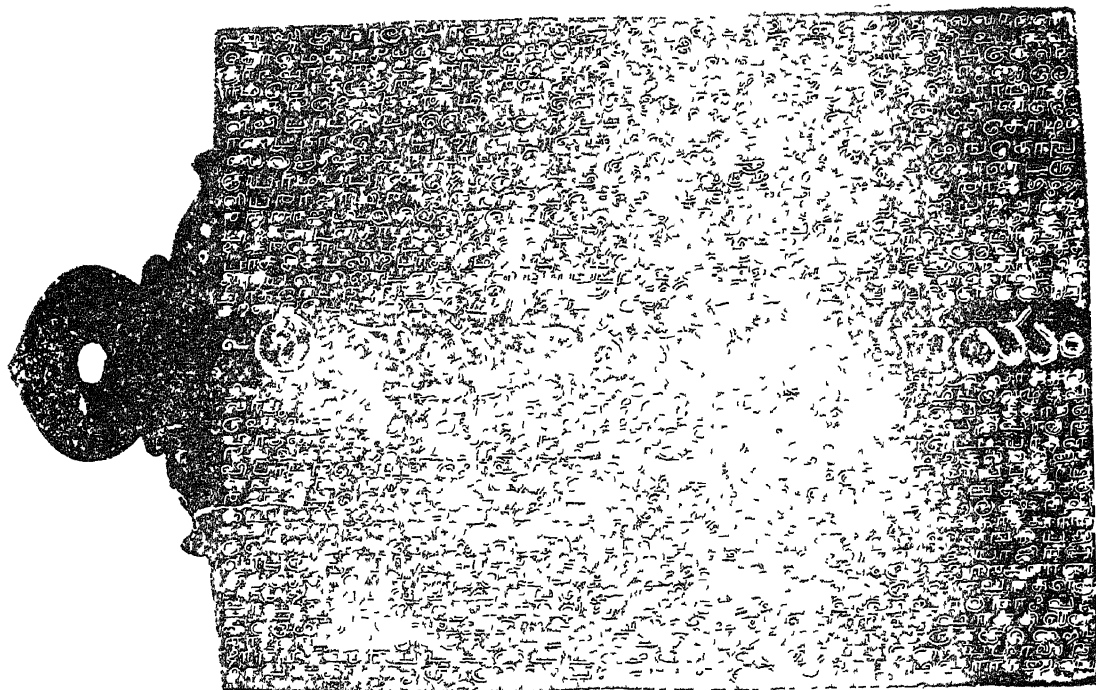
5. மேரதலை was the name of the anklet worn by Rannad chiefs

6. Read ஸ்ரிஷ்வரிவாருந்

7. A parasol dyed in red ochre was the state umbrella of Setupatis

காவிரெழுக்குடைபாந் ரகுநாயகன் ஹிசெங்குலியங்குடை பாந் ரகுநாயகன் — *Oruvalkilkanai*.

8. குவணகக் கொண்ட வீராமேசா தானமுடி குடி and ஆரீப போற்றி திராமேசா என்னோக-
படிவாழ். — *Oruvalkilkanai* verses 2 and 69



Scale One-half

- 33 கூறுபெயர்வெற்றுள்ள உணர்வாஜா ஆவர்கள் இராமச்சுவர்ததில மீ-
34 ராஜநாயகராகக் கட்டளை நடத்து சிறதற்கு காககூருக்கு கிறைம-
35 லாநயராஸநப்படடைய மெருதிக குடுத்தபட சிறையராஸந-
36 ராவது [1⁴] காககூருக்கு கிறையடி உட சந— இந்த னலாயிரம் வராகனும்
மொ-

Second side

- 37 ககம பதகிககொண்டபடியினால் தடாதகைநாட்டிலக காககாக கிராமத்-
38 துக்கு எலகைக கிழககெலகையாவது கருமளககாலுக்குங் கதைபன்கணமா-
39 ராயச கரைக்கும*] கருமளககணமாய மூலகைசகைக்கு[ம'] மெறகு தெற-
கெலகையாவது
40 குமாரசகுறிசசிககணமா யுளவாயக்குங் கருசகை சூளத்துககணமா யுளவா-
41 ய்க்கு[ம'] பததலைககணமா யுளவாயக்கும பகையனகணமா யுளவா[ய*]-
ககும வ-
42 டககு மெறகெலையாவது சாததான எதலகக்குளத்து புஞ்சை எல-
கைப பு-
43 ரவுக்கு[ம'] முதுகுளத்து ரெலகைக குத்துக்கலலுக்கும பணையடி பெந்த-
லெ-
44 லகைப புரவுக்குங் கிழக்கு வடககெலையாவது புளியங்குடி எலகை-
45 கக்குங் குத்துக்கல்லுக்கும பாடுவானெந்த லெலகைப புரவுக்கும புந்தகுள-
46 தது எலகைப புரவுக்குங் குத்துக்கலலுக்குங் கருமளகாலுக்குந் தெறகு இ-
47 னனன்கெலலை குளப்பட்ட காககா நஞ்சை புஞ்சை வுணா-லாடியும் நிதி-
48 நிகெஷவயறுதருபாஷாணலிண்டாரு கிஷ்ணிலா மாலிவிசிவாஜிமென்று சொ-
49 லப்பட்ட கிஷ்ணொமஷெஸலாஜிமென்கு உதாநிவிநியவிசுயங்க-
50 னுக்கு யொமஷாக மீவதீநாலாஷ வுநி ஸாயுர ரவஜி-2 கும்பெஸவர-
வெ-
51 ருமாள் மஹாராஜாசுவர கள நடத்துகிற இராமேஸ்வரம் கட்டளை-த த-
52 ததததததத குலாஜாக்க-2(0)ஞ சந்ததிப்பிறவெசமெ ஆண்ட நுபவித்துக் கெ-
53 காளவாராகவும் [1*] கிராமத்தில வரியிற மஹதம் மனனிநையாகவும்
ஊழி-
54 ய (மதலாகியது சகலமும் மீர ரநாமலாஜி கட்டளை மூலமென்குத-
55 த பிறகாரமாகவும் நடத்திவிசசக கொளளுவொமாகவும் [1*] இந்தப்ப-
56 டிக்குக் கிறையசாவந [ஞ] செயதுவிசசக கொடுத்தொ மிந்தததறமதவை-
57 த பரிபாலனம் பண்ணின பொகள கொடி ஸஹபுஜிவெஷ்யும் கொடி-
58 ஸிவவிமவ்ருதிவெஷ்யும் கொடிகொடி மொஷாநமும் பண்ணிந புண்ணிய-
59 ம பெறுவராகவும் [1*] இந்த தறமததுக்கு அகிதம் நினைந்தபொ காசி-
வெதுவி-
60 ல கொடி கொஹ (ஹ)ததியும் கொடி ஸுஹிஹத்தியும் பண்ணின பாவத
தை மலையவர-

3 Read மனனீதே^o.

4 Read முயங்குஞ்சு கொத்தி

called)¹ *madal*, the lover of the goddess of victory, the Rāma to the Rāvanas of (enemy) kings, a *vēlakkāran*² to devotees, he on whose two feet shine the heroic anklet and the *śēmattalai*, the chastiser of the wicked and the protector of the righteous, the breaker of the army of Muhammadans and the destroyer of their pride, the breaker of the army of Oddiyar and the destroyer of their pride, the breaker of the armies of enemies, he whose mind is not perturbed even if mountains (themselves) are disturbed, the moon to feeding-houses, the Dēvēndra of the earth, the upholder of Śiva's worship, the founder of many temples, the owner of the Chōla dominions, the possessor of a red-ochre coloured parasol, *urudu*, and a white fly-whisk, the abode of the goddess of all prosperity, the supervisor of the affairs of god Rāmanātha, the upholder of the race of Huanyagabhayāji Raghunātha-Sētopati Karttadēvaravargal, who had performed the sixteen great gifts beginning with the Tuḷāpurushadhāva, the crest-jewel of the Solai race and he that was seated resplendent in (the place called) Viraiyādagandan in the eastern portion of Kākkū *alias* Kulōttungaśōla-nallur (a village) in Togavūr-kūram — Muttu-Rāmalīnga Vijayaraghunātha-Sētopati Karttadēvaravargal — gave in writing to Śrīpadmanābhadhāsa Vañchi³ Bālārāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāl Mahārāja of the *ādhiṇam* of Tiruppāppūr-svarūpam the (following) sale-deed for the sale of (the village of) Kākkūr for conducting a service (*kattalai*) to god śrī-Rāmanāthasvāmī at Rāmēśvaram

As 4000 *varāhan*, (in words) four thousand *varāhan*, have been received in cash as the price of Kākkūr, the boundaries of Kākkūr in Tatātakai-nādu are — the eastern boundry (is) to the west of the Karumalakkāl, the bund of Gadaiyan-kanmāy, and the corner bund of Karunala-kanmāy,

the southern boundary (is) to the north of the sluices of Kumārakkunch-chi-kanmāy, Karuśalkuḷa-kanmāy, Pattalai-kanmāy and Pagaiyan-kanmāy;

the western boundary (is) to the east of the dry lands near Kāttān-ēndal-kulam, the boundary stone of Mudukulattūr, and the boundary land of Panaiyādi-yēndal, and

the northern boundary (is) to the south of the boundary of Puliyangudi and its set-up stone, the boundary of Pāduvān-ēndal, the boundary of Pāndak-kulam and its set-up stone and the Karumalakkāl.

Kākkūr (situated) within these four boundaries shall be enjoyed, together with its wet and dry lands, its perquisites in cash, its eight privileges such as treasure-troves, deposits, water, timber, stones, ore, *akshinī* and *ūyāmu*, the accomplished and the accomplishable, which were all made eligible to (be disposed of in) gifts, barter, or sale, by Śrīpadmanābhadhāsa Vañchi³ Bālārāmavarma-Kulaśēkharapperumāl Mahārāja for the conduct of the service in Rāmēśvaram, as long as the moon and sun (exist) and in his line of succession

1 A variety of composition, *vide*,

— மனன

விடவண்ணக்கண்டதனுதிவையனமேவிட்ட

மடல்வண்ணமபாடுமபொழுதிண்டு — *Tirukkūḷa āṇṇa-ala*

Pannirupattiyal defines *Madal* in verses 244 to 247, Tirumangai ālvār is the author of similar compositions called the *Periyatirumadal* and the *Suriyatirumalai*

Madalurdal is the crowing act of dogged audacity which a disappointed lover indulges in to evoke compassion from the other party — viz., that of riding on a horse made of palm-leaf sticks?

2 On *Vēlakkāran* and their significance, *vide*,

3 See page 10 above regarding the king's name which may be taken as Vañchipāla Rāmavarma-Kulaśēkhara

The taxes leviable from this village shall be (paid by tenants as) *manñirai*, and labour and other items shall be supplied according to the requirements of the Rāmanāthasvāmi-service

Thus did we prepare and give the sale-deed.

Those that protect this charity shall obtain the merit of having set up a crore of brahmans and a crore of Śiva-lingas, and of having performed many crores of Gōdānas. Those that think evil to this charity shall incur the sin of having killed a crore of brahmans and a crore of cows in Kāśī (Benares) and Sētu (Rāmēśvaram).

The protection of another's charity is twofold more meritorious than one's own charity; by damaging another's charity, one's own gifts become fruitless. Between (the two things) gift and its protection, the latter is more felicitous than the former; by gift one attains Svarga whereas by fostering (another's charity) one reaches the abode of Achyuta (i. e., Vaikuntham)

In this manner was this copper-plate engraved in the writing of Śattaiyappa the son of Śattaiyappa-Nālaṅgarāyan of Madurai

No. 5—Ramavarmayasobhushanam and Vasulakshmikalyanam.

In the Trivandrum Palace Library there is a manuscript entitled the *Rāmavarma-yasobhūṣhanam*, which on examination, proved to be an exact reproduction of the *Pratāparudrīya* with regard to the rules, definitions and their explanatory notes, classified under the same nine chapters, Nāyaka, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Rūpa, Dōḥa, Guna, Śabdālankāra, Arthālankāra and Miśrālankāra *prakāraṇas*, but with the illustrative verses composed, agreeably to its title, in praise of the Travancore king Rāmavarma-Kulaśekhara Vañchipāla.¹ The author of this work is said to be a certain Sadāśiva-makṣin,² son of Chokkanāthādharma,³ but further details

1. Similar works composed by other poets in praise of their respective patrons are *Vaijaya-pūjābhūṣhanam* of Narayana, *Manjula-maṅgalā*, and *Sataraṇa-abhaya-dhāraṇam* in Sanskrit and *Māraṇaṭṭam* of Tirukkalkuppumāl Kaviṇṇar in praise of Nannālvār.

2. चोक्कनाथाध्वरिसुतस्सर्वविद्याविशरद ।

सदाशिवमखी मोऽयं प्रबन्धा भावुकाग्रणी ॥

मेयं सदाशिवकृतिर्मधुरोक्तिवन्धा सालङ्कृतिस्सरसभावनिरूपणोक्ता ।

कान्त समिच्छति वधूरिव वञ्चिबा(पा)लश्रीगामवर्मकुलशेखरसर्वभौमम् ॥

3. We know of three different persons bearing the name of Chokkanātha at the end of the 17th century, viz.,

(i) the author of *Sōantilāpamayam* who was the son of Tippādharma and who mentions a certain Basavakshitiṇḍra, in his drama,

(ii) the author of the commentary of *Yudhisṭhira-rajayam* of Vāsudēva, which is in manuscript in the Palace Library and in which is mentioned that he was the son of Sudarṇa-Bhatta of the Bhāradvāja gotra and a native of Śattanū, and

(iii) the father-in-law of Rāmabhadra-Dikṣita (1693)

Of these No. 1 refers to Nīlakantha-Makṣin and was the author of *कान्तिसतीपरिणयम्* composed at the instance of Shājurāja and belongs therefore to the beginning of the 18th century. It may also be noted that there was a Basavappa Nāyaka of Ikkēri (1697-1714) and a chief

about his pedigree are not available here except that in a drama of his named *Lakṣhmīkalyānam*¹ his *gōtra* is known to be Bhāradvāja and mother's name to be Mīnākshī. Unlike the *Pratāparudrīya* which has furnished many interesting bits of historical information about its Kākatiya hero that have since been verified by epigraphical researches, the 'Adornment of the glory of Rāmavarman' is a composition of purely literary merit, for the author evidently an East-Coast brahman, whose knowledge of or interest in the history of Travancore in those troublous times could never have been great, has failed to give an historical setting to his penegyrical verses, but has only revelled in the usual stereotyped but commendable descriptions, similitudes and imagery. If this should be so in the case of an author who flourished only a century and a half ago, there is nothing to wonder at in the paucity of historical material in the compositions of many of our earlier Sanskrit poets, with but a few honourable exceptions, and the criticism that the average Indian author is lacking in the historical instinct is hardly undeserved.

The few points worthy of attention in this work may now be noted. That the hero of the work is none other than the nephew of Mārttāndavarman, the Great—the illustrious Rāmavarma-Kulaśekhara-Vaṇṭhupāla of the Solar race, who ascended the throne in Kollam 933 (A. D. 1758) and had a long eventful reign of 40 years till Kollam 973 (A. D. 1798), is understood from a verse² which records

named Basavarājendra (c. 1700 A. D.) either of whom may have been the patron mentioned by the author (*Q. J. M. S. Vol. X. p. 207*), but we do not know if he was of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra identical with Sadāśiva's father.

No notice of that *gōtra* and says in his commentary that he completed it in the cyclic year Vikrama, month Nabhas (Śāvarā), Revati Monday, but this is, and as these details are correct for both the Kollam year 875 and 936 in all particulars except the weekday it may be presumed that he was Sadāśiva's father. Sadāśiva must have composed his *Yasobhushanam* in the early part of his patron's reign.

- 1 अस्ति खलु भारद्वाजकुलकलशजलधिहिमकरस्य सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रस्य चोक्ताथयज्वन तनूजस्य मीनाक्षिगर्भ-
शुक्तिमुक्तामणे सदाशिवयज्वन कृति अभिनव लक्ष्मीकल्याणं नाम नाटकम् ।

- 2 सता मासं स्थित्वा सकलशुभमाधाय जगता
विपक्षक्षोणीश्रुतिमिरहरतेजस्विनि विधे ।

गतंस्त मार्तण्डे विपुरिव जनानन्दजनकं
कलामिन्धुराजाद्युदयमधिरूढो विजयते ॥

A few other verses referring to the king are

- (a) तत्तादृगद्भुतचरित्रपावीत्रितासु
प्राचा कृतिष्वपि सर्ताषु मितपचोक्ति ।
वाञ्छापलात्सुगुणसागरवाञ्छिवा(पा)ल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरभूपमीडे ॥

- (b) लक्ष्मी वृणोतु यदपाङ्गविलासपात्र
यच्छस्तलक्ष्यकुलमाश्रितोऽप्सरौभि ।
श्रीपद्मनाभशरणागतवञ्छिवा(पा)ल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरराट सजीयात् ॥

with a *double entendre*, that after Mārttāṇḍa (the king the sun) had set, Rājā (king Rāma-varman the moon) ascended the Udayagiri (Udayagiri hill near Padma-nabhapuram, the eastern hill). One item of new information furnished by this book is that Rāma-varman was the son of a queen called Pārvatī,¹ and it follows therefore that the princess of the Kolattunād family who was adopted by Unni-Rāma-varman in Kollam 893² (A. D. 1718) had this name or got it on adoption, Lakshmi and Pārvatī being alternately the names borne by the Rānis of Travancore. Rāma-varman may have had more than two brothers for they are referred to in the plural number as *saṅga bhṛāh* and are cited as types of *Dhū alalita* heroes spending away their time in their mansions in amorous dalliance, but we know of only one Rāma-varman who was present at the time of Rāma-varman's dedication of the temple to god Padma-nabha. The munificence and charitable disposition.

(1) मन्तु प्रजा विहितधर्मपरास्मृद्धा

आचन्द्रनारसवने जयतु क्षितीन्द्र ।

श्रीपद्मनाभगणायतन्त्रिचवा(पा)ल-

श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमः ॥

2 () पार्वत्यास्मुकृतोदयनजगता क्षेमाय सद्वृद्धये
दुष्टानामह मिक्षणाय सपुन स्कन्दस्मुरै प्रार्थित ।
भूत्वा वञ्चिव धिः प्रथितया शक्त्या रिपून् शिक्षयन्
सुव्रह्मण्यपद व्यनक्ति भुवने श्रीरामवर्मानुपः ॥

3 () पार्वतीनन्दनस्य वञ्चिन्द्रः स्कन्द एव यत् ।
शक्त्या विनिहितामित्रः सुव्रह्मण्यो विराजते ॥

() योय सुक्तामणिर्जातः पार्वतीगर्मशुक्तिः ।
सद्गुणो गुणवान् स्वच्छः स्निग्धस्सौम्यं विराजते ॥

2 Trav State Manual, Vol I, page 324

3 सौधाप्रोदितरत्नदीपकलिकाव्याजार्कविम्बोदय-
व्याक्षिप्तेन्द्रभयप्रदानचतुरस्त्रायास्यचन्द्रोदयैः ।
गायद्भिर्निजयौवने प्रतिनिशं सक्तास्सगर्यानुपा
वञ्चिक्षोणिपतेर्निरन्तरयशस्सप्रार्थयन्त मुदा ॥

4 तदनुज रविवर्मा भागिनेयस्वनामा
स्वयमपि स तु वञ्चिश्मापतिश्चैकभागः ।

सकलभुवनभारं पद्मनाभाय दत्वा

मनुपतिकुलभूषे स्वामिभृत्यस्वभावः ॥—*Bālānabharatam* (T 1 S IV 110)

5 विद्वद्भजानपि निरङ्कुशवर्तिनस्त्वै-
रुदध्वगुणैः कनकदण्डालिकानुबन्धान् ।
कृत्वावासं प्रतिपदं ननु वञ्चिबा(पा)ल-
श्रीरामवर्मकुलशेखरसार्वभौमः ॥

proWess,¹ literary accomplishments² and other incomparable³ qualities of this sovereign have the contemporary testimony of the author in some of the verses occurring in the work and these attributes go to justify the names of *Dharmarāja* by which he was lovingly remembered by his subjects and to confirm the ideal picture drawn of him in the pages of the *Travancore State Manual*⁴ and in the *Archaeological Series*, Vol. IV. It is a pity that no reference has however been made in the work to any of the stirring political events of those times, as probably it was composed early in the king's reign.

The plot of the model drama called the *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam* inserted in the *Nāṭaka-pralāna* or the third chapter of the book is as follows —

The king of distant Sindhu had a daughter named Vasulakshmī and had set his heart on marrying her to the king of Travancore, Rāmavarma-Kulasēkhara, whose accomplishments were much noised abroad. But the queen who had another bridegroom in view in the person of her nephew, the prince of Simhala, started her daughter on a voyage ostensibly with the intention of visiting a famous temple while the proposed destination was in reality Ceylon. Providence, however, upset

- 1 त्रैलोक्यप्रथमानभास्करकुलक्षीराब्धिराकाशशर्शा
प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालमौलिमणिभिर्निराजिताङ्घ्रिर्मुहुः ।
दिक्कान्ताकुचकुम्भचन्दनरसोन्मील्यशोमण्डलः
राज्यश्रीसमलंकृतो विजयते श्रीरामवर्मो नृप ॥
- 2 यदृच्छासल्लपिस्समविगतषट्त्तन्त्रविभवे-
श्वमतकुर्वन् धीरान् सदसि रसभावप्रकटनैः ।
कवीन्धिन्वन् गानक्रमविवरणाद्गायकवरान्
परिष्वक्त्वाविवक्षितपतिलकोऽयं विजयते ॥
- 3 स एव देवो भुवनेज्जनाभः स एव देशस्तदुपाहितार्थिः ।
सानन्दपुर्येव पुरा स वविक्षितीश एव क्षितिपालको हि ॥
- 4 *Trav State Manual*, Vol I, p 407 et seq

In this connection the tribute of praise tendered to the king by his nephew Rāmavarman (Asvamedh) in his *Rāmavarmanīyam* is worth noting

अस्ति निखिलखलहृदयनिचङ्कन्यमानशोकशल्यस्य शल्यस्येव धर्मजातबद्धचेतसः प्रचेतस इव पार्श्वपरिभ्राज-
मानवाहिनीसहस्रस्य सहस्रदीधितेरिवोन्मुखपद्माकरगृहीतपादपल्लवस्य वैनतेयस्येव शशमहितापदानवतः का-
र्तिकेयस्येवाप्रतिहतशक्तेराखण्डलस्येव प्रकटितशतकोटिदानविस्मयस्य विशङ्कटभुजवितपिविहरमाणविश्वभरा-
शारीकस्य हरिचरणपरिचरणधुरीणधिषणस्य सकलपरिपन्थिमण्डलाख्यविश्रान्तचापकर्मणोऽपि सकलादि-
गन्तध्रुयमाणगुरुगुणध्वने पार्थिवप्रधानस्यापि गुणमयस्य राज्ञः श्रीपद्मनाभदासवञ्चिपालकुलशेखर-
रामवर्मणो भागिनेयेन रामवर्मनामधयेन etc

the ship-wreck's calculation - and the royal barge was stranded on that part of the Travancore shore which was in the jurisdiction of the frontier-captain (*antardūrga-pāṭi*) Vasumadrāja, the brother of the king's consort Vasumatī. The ship-wrecked princess was then sent by this captain to his sister at the capital where her beauty at once captivated the pliable heart of king Rāmaparman, the hero of the drama. The usual love intrigue culminates in a clandestine meeting of the lovers in the Palace garden and the jealous senior then attempts to dispose of her rival by marriage to her cousin the Pāndya king. But this scheme is frustrated by the king and his accomplice - the inevitable Vidūshakī, who in the disguise of the Pāndya king and his friend receive the bride. In the meantime, the Sindhu-rāja learns of the whereabouts of his missing daughter through Nīṭisāgara, the Travancore minister, and coming to Travancore with a large escort confirms the betrothal of king Rāmaparman with Vasulakshmī, which happily coincides with his own inclinations.

This in short, is a summary of the five-act drama purged of all the extraneous matter that had of necessity to be introduced to illustrate the several rules and definitions of dramaturgy and the long-drawn love scenes dictated by the conventional canons of literary tradition. It is not known if there is any inner significance underlying the story of Vasulakshmī's parentage in far-off Sindhu, her ship-wreck on the Travancore shores *en route* Ceylon, and her marriage with Rāmaparman to the discomfiture of the two other rivals in the field, the princes respectively of Śūkhala and Pāndya. In the present state of our ignorance about the royal household¹ of king Rāmaparman, we can only say that this love episode is a mere creation of the poet's imagination and the combined result of an anxiety on his part to flatter his patron and to compose a work in the accepted style in conformity with the orthodox literary rules. The names given by the author for the important *dramatis personae* are very misleading and except the name of the king there is none other answering, so far as we know, to those of contemporary historical personages. The minister bears the professionally significant name of Nīṭisāgara, while the coast-captain is a Vasumadrāja, his sister is a Vasumatī, and the Sindhu princess is a Vasulakshmī, all these three names being derived from the word '*va-su*' (=wealth). The suggestion therefore offers itself as to whether the author wanted to glorify in allegory some of the king's and his uncle's conquests¹ and annexations near by though not in far-off Sindhu or whether a merchantman loaded with cargo from Sindhu and bound for Ceylon, which was perhaps stranded on the Travancore shores owing to the inclemencies of the weather was overhauled as prize by the Travancore coasting garrison and sent as salvage to the king at his capital.²

There is again in the same Library an extremely ill-copied manuscript of another five-act drama called by the same title of *Vasulakshmī-kalyāṇam* which is stated to have been composed in the year Viśvāvasu, without any indication, being given of its equivalent in the Śaka or the Kollam era, but as Kollam 960 (A. D. 1785) the twenty-sixth year of reign of Rāmaparman was also the cyclic year

1. *Trav State Manual*, Vol. I, pp 333 *et seq*

2. There is, however, no incident of this kind mentioned in the *Manual*

3. One modern Malayalam book mentions that the King had four successive consorts

Viśvāvasu, that year may be taken to be its date of composition. Its hero is the same illustrious king of Travancore¹ and its author who is quite different from Sadāśiva, the composer of the other drama inserted into the *Vaśōbhūshanam*, is a certain Venkatasubrahmanyādhvarin² of the famous family of Appayya-Dīkshita (1552-1626) of Adarvappalam.

The plot of this drama, though similar in all essential particulars to that of the model drama noticed above, has been amplified in some details, but it is also unfortunately devoid of any special historical references except that the marriage of the princess of Sindh with Rāmavarman is stated to have been a diplomatic alliance calculated to raise him to the status of a *sārābhāuma*³ through the augmented

1 तदाम्ध्यायणस्यास्य प्रबन्धे विशिष्य पुण्यमहाराजरामवर्मकुलशेखरचरितानुबन्धो कुतो नमे भूयानादराति शयः स्यात् ।

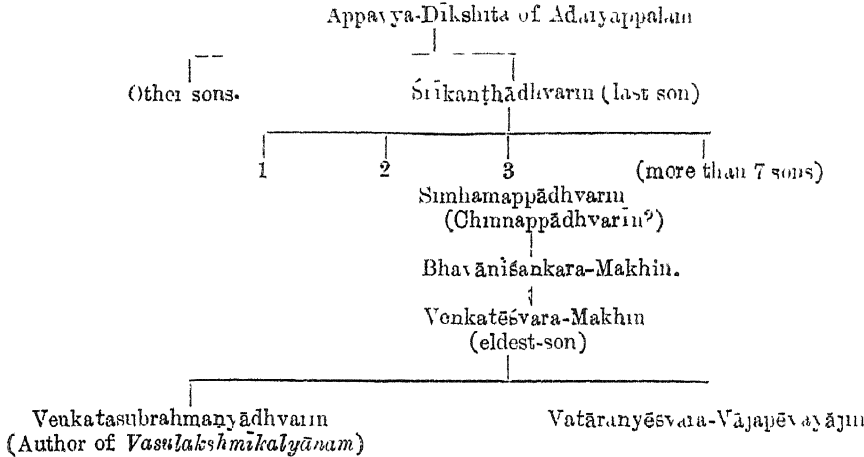
2 अप्पय्याध्वरिसुतेष्व(षु)चरम श्री[नील]कण्ठाध्वरी ।
तत्पुत्रेषु दशाधिकेष्वपि तृतीयस्तिद्वयमाध्वरी ।
तस्माच्चापि भवानीशङ्करमखी ज्येष्ठो गुणैरावभूत्
तस्यैकोऽजनि वेङ्कटेश्वरमखी यस्याद्यसुनु कवि ॥

विद्वत्कुलगुर्वप्यमखिना वशो महोन्नतो जायात् ।

वेङ्कटसुब्रह्मण्याध्वरिकविवद्वन्मर्णिर्यतोद्युदभूत् ॥

इत एवाधीतनिगमादिसर्वविद्य. दिगन्तविदितनिजवैखरीविभववित्रामितविमतवादिगजकेसरी वटारण्येश्वरवाज-
पेययाजीत्यभिज्ञायते ।

The genealogy works out as follows



The two names Śrīkantha and Simhamappa seem to be incorrectly copied in the manuscript, for another copy of the same work available at Karatholuvu in the Coimbatore District reads Nilakantha and Chinnappādhvarin respectively. Compare also the following sentence occurring in the same drama —

अस्य कवेः पूर्विका श्रीमदप्पय्याध्वरितनुच्छन्नस्य भगवतश्चन्द्रमौलेशभूताः नीलकण्ठमखिचिन्नप्पय्या-
ध्वरिवेङ्कटेश्वरमखिप्रभाकरदीक्षित प्रभृतयः षड्दर्शनीवल्लभाऽपि नलचरितोमापरिणयोषाह-
रणहरिश्चन्द्रानन्दप्रभृतिरपरिमितैतिकादिप्रबन्धैरुपक्रमदेव etc

3 परीक्ष्य लक्षणज्ञाता दैवज्ञाना मुखात्स्वयं ।

निश्चैषीद्विवोदस्तां सार्वभौमत्वलम्बिकाम् ॥

the help of the Hūnarāja. (the Hon'ble East India Company?) There is no reference at all to the attempted invasion of Hyder Ali (A. D. 1769) or to the anxious political outlook of the country with the incubus of an impending foreign invasion looming to the north of the Travancore Lines, or even to the Mahārāja's grand pilgrimage to Rāmēśvaram which was undertaken in A. D. 1784,¹ just a year previous to the probable date of composition of the drama. Instead, the author has given the usual conventional setting to the whole plot which makes it difficult to discover whether if at all, any allegorical significance has to be read between the lines. With the exception of king Rāmavarman, the hero, all the other important characters of the drama are given fictitious names coined from the same Sanskrit word *raśi*, as can be seen from the appended list.

Buddhisāgara-minister, *Vasusēna*-Commander, *Vasumatī*, consort of the Mahārāja, *Vasumān*-consort's brother and frontier-captain, *Vasuvorman*-Chēra prince, *Vasunadhi*-Sindhurāja, *Vasurāśi*—his son and *Vasulakshmī*—Sindhu princess.

The story of this drama is briefly as follows —

The minister *Buddhisāgara* who has seen the portrait of *Vasulakshmī*, the Sindhu princess is anxious that the king of Travancore should marry her, so that the latter's political influence may extend northwards and his friendship with the Hūnarāja may also be strengthened. When news is received that the Sindhu princess is voyaging to Ceylon, the minister manages to waylay this ship in the Travancore waters with the active cooperation of the Hūna fleet, and *Vasumān*, the officer in command of the sea-coast who was also the brother of the Travancore king's consort, sends the captive-princess to the royal Palace. There the king falls in love with her and manages to meet her in the royal pleasure gardens to the intense chagrin of *Vasumatī* who tries to marry her rival to the Chēra prince *Vasuvorman* and thus remove the unwelcome competitor out of the way. This plot fails as in the other drama, by the counter-machinations of the king and his *Vidūshaka* who successfully personate the Chēra prince and his boon-companion. By the artful scheming of the minister coupled with the influence of her brother, *Vasumatī* is however, finally won over to consent to the marriage of *Vasulakshmī* with her own husband and the Sindhu prince *Vasurāśi*, instructed by *Buddhisāgara* comes posthaste from his country to celebrate his sister's marriage with the Travancore king. By this alliance, it is stated, the friendship of both the parties with the Hūnarāja was strengthened and the influence of the Travancore king was visibly enhanced.

It will be seen from the above summary that the thread of the above story is the same as that of the other drama of the same name and that the difference is only in the names of the characters. The only new point here is the introduction of the Hūnarāja as the third party in the alliance; but unluckily no definite clue for the identification of this foreigner is forthcoming in the drama. In all probability, however, the allusion may fitly be to the Hon'ble East India Company, which has been described² as, and was in actuality, a fast-rising power in the

1 *Trav State Manual*, Vol. I, page 384

2. तदनेन तीर्थेन हिमवत्पश्चिमानूपवासिनोऽपि भरतवर्षमात्राव्यापिनः कृणराजस्य चिरप्रवृत्तमपि सख्यं देवेन बहुलीभविष्यतीति मन्ये ।

political horizon of India, whose help and goodwill were much coveted and sought after by the Indian princes of that period. From the *Travancore State Manual*,¹ it is learnt that the port of Alleppey was opened out for commerce in the reign of this king Rānavarman much to the detriment of the Dutch trade and that great facilities were afforded to certain wealthy merchants of Sindh and Cutch to colonise at that port so as to assure the commercial prosperity of the State. In the drama again Sindhuāja is mentioned as the friend of Rānavarman's uncle,² Mārttāndavarman, and although the province of Sindh is specifically mentioned as located in northern India with the country of Kachcha in its vicinity, one is led to think that the references in the drama are not to the northern provinces of Sindh and Cutch as such, but to some merchants of these countries who were carrying on a brisk trade along the West Coast down to Ceylon and whose settlement at the new port of Alleppey was the happy achievement of king Rānavarman. When the Dutch trade was thus undermined, the Hon'ble East India Company which had only a few decades ago got a slippery footing at Anjengo and Viliñam was now enabled to have a more secure base of operations, both commercial and political in the West Coast, and with the establishment of good relations between the Travancore king and the northern merchant princes of Sindh and Cutch, it also slowly strengthened its influence and enlarged its sphere of activity further up in the north. This appears to be the only plausible interpretation of the story of *Vasulakshmī-kalyānam*, in the absence of other evidence to connote an actual marriage of the king with a Sindhu princess called Vasulakshmī.³ Her name which literally means the 'Goddess of wealth' may aptly do duty for a personification of the anticipated commercial prosperity of the State consequent on the colonisation of the northern merchants, whose introduction into the country and the grant of special privileges to whom were, however, first viewed with dis-favour and jealousy by the conservative merchants of the soil as represented by the legal consort, Vasumatī (the Earth), until then prejudice was tidied over by proper arguments adduced by the able minister; while Vasumān, the *Vēladurjapāla* (the port-officer?), who was also convinced of the advantages that would accrue to the State by Vasulakshmī's marriage (increased commercial activity) heartily sided with the minister in his endeavours to win over Vasumatī's consent.

In the chapter on Śabdālankāra in the *Rānavarma-yaśōbhūshanam* have been given under the section of Chitrālankāra a few verses composed in the more popular of the *bandhas*, such as the *nāga*, *chakra*, *ratha* and *ashtadalapadma*, with diagrams showing the manner in which the syllables are to be arranged in them. These form an interesting study in themselves and show the flexibility with which the Sanskrit language was handled by the poets in the feats of verbal gymnastics practised by them as a leisure hour recreation. In this connection, it is interesting

1 *Trav State Manual*, Vol I, p. 372

2 अस्मन्मातुलबालमेत्रमसकृत्कर्णान्तरङ्गीकृत
योधीती धनुरागमेषु सहतैः तुल्यश्च बाह्वोर्वले ।
सिन्धोरुत्तरकच्छभूमिमवधोकृत्य हिमाद्रे क्षितिं
रक्षन्दिक्पतिसन्निभो वसुनिधि ख्यातप्रभावः क्षितिं ॥

3 A modern work in prose on *ashtadalapadma* states that the king had four consorts in succession, viz., Kāhammā Nāgamāni of Nagereol and three others from Vadaferri Ammanai and Tiruvattāni ammaridus.

to note that the diagram for the *Chakrabandha* given in the manuscript is the correct form drawn and filled in according to the instructions given in the commentary. It exhibits the name of the author and his work in a proper alignment in the concentric circles; whereas the diagram given in the Allahabad edition of the *Pratāparudrīya* is incorrect in so far as the names of the author and his work are not so easily discernible or so symmetrically arranged. The Sangam edition of *Māraṇaṅkāraṁ* also gives the correct diagram of a *śaḍāchakram* with the Tamil letters properly arranged.

No. 6.—Marttandavarman's Record of Kollam 925.

This record is found written in Tamil characters and in the Malayalam language on a leaf of cadjan preserved in the Vernacular Records Office at Trivandrum and from the statement that it is only a copy (*eduvīda*) its original, which must necessarily have been engraved on copper considering the importance of the record, may perhaps be found stowed away in the archives of the Trivandrum temple among many other equally valuable and possibly earlier documents relating to that temple's administration. These, if made available for purposes of detailed examination, will help in the elucidation of many events appertaining to Travancore history.

In spite of its apparently recent date of Kollam 925, the importance of this document lies in the fact that it records an unique historical episode known as *Tiruppadī dānam*,¹ wherein king Mārttandavarman is stated to have dedicated his whole kingdom to god Padmanābha, the tutelary deity of the Travancore Royal House, while he conducted the administration as the god's agent (*Bhandāra-kkāriyam-seyār*). That this *coup-d'état* was calculated to safeguard the solidity of his newly acquired dominions from the counter reprisals of his whilom enemies, who dared not proceed against territories dedicated to and therefore belonging exclusively to god was not an innovation of this king, but that the idea that the Tiruvadi-rājya was god's country was current two centuries earlier even during the time of the invasion of Venādu by the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāya has been dealt with at length in Volume IV of the *Series*. Mārttandavarman's successor Rāmarvarman went through the same dedication ceremony in about Kollam 938-9.

The boundaries of the dominions which were thus disposed of are only vaguely given here viz., the fort of Tōvāla on the east and Kāvanāru in the west; but the territory must have been big enough as Mārttānda, the Conqueror, had by the Kollam year 925 annexed or subdued many of the principalities with which

1 *Trav State Manual*, Vol I, 362 Compare

പരമനാഭസമർപ്പിതമായിട്ടു യരങ്ങനൻ യരണീശ ഭരത

പരമനാഭപുരംപ്രമാകുന്ന സത്തമാശ്വ ചമച്ചിടൻ

* * * * *

സകലവിപദമുക്തിപത്രമതിവഞ്ചിഭൂമി പുരന്ദരൻ

from *Pañchendrapākhyānam* of Kuṇḍjan-Nambiyār,

and പുരനാശ്വര യന്ത്രൻ യരണീശഭരത

കുന്തിച്ചിട്ടും ഭക്തിയോടമ്പലത്തിൽ

ചെന്നബ്ബനാരേൻറ പാദോബ്ബരത്തിൽ

നല്ലൊ സമർപ്പിച്ചിട്ടു രാജൻ രാജ്യം

ഭൂപ്രവിരൻ കലക്കെടമാകും

ശ്രീപരമനാഭരൻ നടയ്ക്കുചായി

സമുസഭനത്തിനു ചക്ഷുമായ് -

ശ്ശയ്യം വെർത്തിട്ടുടവാളു വെച്ചു

from a modern poem *Mārttāndadevīdānam*

southern Kērala was dotted: Āttuṅgal, Quilon, Kāyangulam and Kottārakkara, Ambalappula and the chieftaincies of Tekkunkūr and Vadakkunkūr

Text.¹

First side

- 1 உ ஸ்ரீராமச்செயம் [11']
- 2 திரப்பாப்பூர முப்பெருநா ஸ்ரீ வீரவாலமாததாண்டவாமமராய திரா-
பாப்பூர முத்தகிருவடி இருநடுருளியெடத்திகலந் நிறநும கலபி-
ச்சு பெருமாள் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலக்கு இராச்சியம் எழுதிவச்ச சிறுவ-
சுவாராபண² ஓலக்கு எழுதின எதிர்- [11*]
- 3 கயெயிரு வுந் தைமீர் ருஉ
- 4 விராச்சிக சனி மீனவியாழம் செந்ந கொல்லம் தோளளாயிரத்து இருபத்த-
பயமாண்ட மகாமாதம் ருஉ புத்தனாஷ்யம் பூவபகத்தது சத்தமியும்
இந்நாளால் எழுதிய சுவருவாராபண ஓலக்கரணமாவிது [1³]
- 5 ஸ்ரீ பண்டாரகநாரியம் செயிவார்களாய வாலமாததாண்டவாமமராய திரா-
பாப்பூர முப்பெருநா நிறநும தகலச்சு கு ஓளள தோளளகொட்டைக்கு
படிஞர் அ கண்ணுற்றினு கீழ்க்கொள்ள
- 6 இராச்சியத்தினு அகத்தது ஒளளது நாளதுவரை நமக்கு அவகாசமாயிட்டு
அனுபவிச்ச வருந் வத்து சிந்ததியகனனும் தானமானகனனும் எப-
போபபட்ட-தும்
- 7 பெருமாள் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்திலக்கு சுவருவாராபணமாக ஆசெந்நிரு-
க்கமெ எழுதிக்கொடுத்தார [11*]

Second side.

- 8 ஸ்ரீபண்டாரகநாரியம் செய்வார்களாய வாலமாததாண்டவாமமராய திரா-
பாப்பூர முப்பெருநா நிறநும
- 9 இம்மராககமெ இ சுவருவாராபண ஓல வகை யெழுதிய மெலேழுத்துக்
கணக்கு சககாசுமார [11*] ட்டன எழுத்தது [11*]

Translation.

Victory to Śrī-Rāma!

This is a copy of the *sarvasvārpana-ōla* (document) relating to the dedica-
tion of the kingdom to the *śrībhāṇḍāra* of Perumāḷ, which was made in writing by
śrī-Vīra-Bāla-nārttāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr Mūṭta-tiruvadi of (the) Tirup-
pāppūr(-*svārūpam*) and (the) Kīlappērūr(-*illam*), from his palace

Kollam 925, Tai 5

This is the document relating to the wholesale dedication (*sarvasvārpanam*)
which was written on the 5th day of the month of Makara in the Kollam year

1. Registered as No 13 of the *Trov. Epig Colln.* for 1098 M E

2. Expressed by a symbol.

3. The symbol— does duty for the word மாததாண்ட

4. The correct form is வலவ-ஓவலவ-ஓண.

सर्वस्वार्पण is the giving away of the whole of one's possessions and it is considered to be a very
meritorious kind of gift सर्वस्वदानं is the name also of a variety of adoption practised in
Nambudiri families, where in cases of absence of male issue to a deceased head, a man is
adopted into the illam by giving away all the family property to him as dowry to the
daughter of the house whom he marries.

5. Expressed by a symbol

nine hundred and twenty-five, when Saturn was in Vrischika and Jupiter stood in Mīna, which was a Wednesday with *saptamī-tīthi* of the first fortnight

Bālamārtāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr-Mūppu who was the head of the Government gave away (in writing) to the (*bhāndāra*) treasury of Perumāl (god Padmanābha of Trivandrum) (to last) till the moon and sun (endure), all the property, duties, grants etc. from the kingdom lying to the west of Tōvālakōtta and to the east of Kāvanāru which belonged to, and were till that date being enjoyed by, him

This is the signature of the *mēleluttu* (head accountant), Saṅkara-Kumārabhattan who wrote in this manner this *sarvasvārpāna* transaction of Bālamārtāṇḍavarman *alias* Tiruppāppūr-Mūppu who was the head of the Government.

No. 7—Cheramangalam records of Jatavarman Sundara-Chola-Pandya.

The subjoined two records in the Vatteluttu script and the Tamil language are engraved on the south base of the central shrine of the Vishnu temple at Chēramangalam, a small village in the Eramel taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division. They belong to Jatavarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya, the first Chōla-Pāndya viceroy who was appointed by Rājēndrachōla I for the administration of his Pāndya dominions, and are dated in the 19th and [6]th years of the former's reign. The writing of the second of these inscriptions seems however to be later than the Vatteluttu script of the middle of the 11th century, either because the engraver was a slovenly individual or this inscription was perhaps a copy incised at some later date.

The donor of the zinc lamp-stand mentioned in the first inscription was a certain Māyilatti, brother of Kalanī-Vembi of Śaṅkarappādi who figures as a donor to the Vishnu temple at Suchīndram in a record¹ of the 9th year of the same viceroy, where his full name is given as Kalanī-Vembi *alias* Madhurāntakap-pēraraian. He must have been an individual of some consequence residing at Kōttāru and his brother, the donor in the Chēramangalam record, was employed as an *orrai-chēvakan* in the army. Both of them must have accompanied Sundara-Chōla-Pāndya's army from the Chōla dominions, because Mayilatti is a name which is often met with in the Chōla inscriptions of the Tamil districts. *Orrai-chēvakan* as a military term occurs in two inscriptions of the Pāndya kings Māraṇjadaiyan² and Vīra-Pāndya,³ and it may mean 'soldiers engaged on spying work' (*orru*=espionage and *orrai*=a spy); but then the word may have to be *orru-chēvakan* or *orrai-chēvakan*. *Orrai* means 'single' and *orrai-chēvakan* were probably subordinate officers with some individual status as against an ordinary soldier who formed part and parcel of a battalion. It is noteworthy that some of the individuals mentioned in the Chōla-Pāndya inscriptions⁴ copied from the Suchīndram temple were influential military officers of the Chōla garrison:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | <i>Trav Archl Series</i> , Vol. IV, p 135 |
| 2 | <i>ibid</i> Vol I, p 158. |
| 3 | <i>ibid</i> Vol. III, p 73. |
| 4 | <i>ibid</i> Vol. IV, pp 132, 135, 137 |

namely, *Śēnāpati* Malayappichōlan, *Padattalaivar* Kāvānai-Karuvūr and *Danda-nāyakar* Vēlān-Sōlakēraṇ *Ten-Tiruvāraṅgamudaiyār* the god of the Vishnu temple of Chēramaṅgalaṁ and *Ten-Tiruvēṅgaḍamudaiyār* installed within the big temple at Suchindrum, were perhaps named after the gods of the highly sacred temples at Tiruvāraṅgam (Śrīraṅgam) and Tiruvēṅgaḍam (Tirupati) in the Madras Presidency

It may be noted that donors' names were very often attached to the gifts made by them to the temples. In many cases the thrones, halls and other objects and gifts with which certain kings were connected, came to be called by their names or by some of the most distinctive of their *birudas* e.g., Rājārājan(-*mandapa*), Ariyemavallān(-*pandal*), Vīravallālan(-*simhāsana*), Kulasekharan(-*paḍi*), Kulōt-tungasōlan (palace), Narasiṅgamunaiyaraiyar(-*poṇṇal*), Sundara-Pāndyan(-*śandi*), Rājakēsarikkāl (a measure), Śērāntaka (vessel) are some of the many instances known from inscriptions. In a similar manner, the lamp-stand presented by Māyalatti was named Tiruvoraiichchēvakan, after the donor's profession

The second epigraph records that a certain Irāiyān-Achchan gave surety for the payment by himself of the taxes due on certain temple lands, in case the principal party called Āynavan-Dēvan went out of the village, and to further pay a fine of six *kalaṅṇu* of gold to the king or temple, if he acted against this agreement. *Manru-māripōkūl* is an expression which has been tentatively rendered into 'if he leaves the assembly', *manru* signifying the meeting-place of the village assembly. The term *manrūdi* therefore refers to a member of the *manru*, i.e., one who pleads cases in a village assembly¹. It also means 'a shepherd'. The caste *mannāḍiyār* has however been derived from *man*-earth and *nēḍiyār*-earners

Mudukudi—is the name of the original Dravidian inhabitants whose modern representatives in the Travancore State are said to be the hill-tribes (*malaiyaravan*) called the Muduvar²; but it does not seem probable that Āynavan-Dēvan of the present record belonged to that class. *Mūttakudi*³ occurs in the Kēralapuram inscriptions, where it refers to a family of dancing girls attached to the Śiva temple at that place.

The other four inscriptions, three in Vatteluttu and the fourth in Tamil, are not of any importance, being but fragments. No C seems to refer to a gift of an utensil called *gundi* for use in the temple, while No F states that the village of Chēramaṅgalaṁ was a *brahmadēya* of Rājārāja-Tennādu

A

On the south base of the central shrine.

- 1 ஸ்ஷித்ரீஸ் [11*] கொச்சடையவன்மரான ஸ்ரீசுந்தரசொழிபாண்டியநெ
வாககு யாண்டு பத்தொன்பதாவது சொழிமண்டலத்தில் அருமொழி
தெவவள[நா*]ட்டு புறந-

1 பழையமனருடிபோலுமிவனென்று பண்பினமிகு — *Periyapuramam*

2 *Poruladhikāra-ārāychechi*, p 11.

3 *Vide* Kēralapuram records published below

(A) Registered as No 76 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. P.

- 2 கரைய நாட்டு முக்கரைபான முழுமுடிசொழபுரத்து இருக்கு[ம*] ச
ககரபாடிபான கழனி [வெண்ணியென] மமபி திருவொற்றைச்செவக
மாயலட்டியென இராசராசதெ[ன்*] னாட்டு சொமங்கலத்து தெவா
தெனதிருவரங்கமுடையா[க*] குச
- 3 சக்திராதித்தவல நினறெரிய வைச்ச தாராவினக்கு வெள்ளிககொலால
ஃறை அறுபது [1*] இவ்வினக்கு திருவொற்றைச்செவகன் எனபது
சக்திராதித்தவல நினறெரியுமபடித தருவொற்றைச்செவக மாயலட்டி
வைச்ச திருநந்தாவினக்கு [11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the nineteenth year of king Jatāvarman *alias* Srī Sundaśōla-Pāndyadēva, Tiruvoraiichēvaka-Māyalattu, brother of Kalamvenni of Sankarappadi residing in Mukkarai *alias* Mummudiśōlapuram, a village of Purañkarambai-nādu which is a sub-division of Arumolidēva-valanādu, a district of Sōla mandalam, gave a zinc lamp-stand weighing sixty (*palam*) by the *velliikkōl*, for burning as long as the moon and sun (last) a perpetual lamp to the god Ten-Tiruvaraṅgamudaiyār of Śēramaṅgalam, (a village) of Rājarāja-Tennādu This lamp-stand called Tiruvoraiichēvakan is the perpetual lamp given by Tiruvoraiichēvaka-Māyalattu, to burn as long as the moon and sun (endure).

B

On the south base of the central shrine

- 1 ஸ்ரீஸ்ரீ [1*] கொச்சடையவனமரான ஸ்ரீசுந்தாசொழபாண்டியாதெவா-
[க*] குயாண்டு [ஆறு] வது தென்திருவரங்கமுடையா கொவிலில
முதுகுடி செந்தில ஆயிரவ-
- 2 [தெ]வனமன் றுமாறி பொகில தனக¹ ஆக இறை புண்படுவென இவ்வூ
ரை³ மனாடி
- 3 இறையான அச்சன்னென இப்படி அனறென[எ]ல அனாடு கொவி-
லுக்கு² அறுகழ[ஞ*]ச பொன படுவொதாக
- 4 ஓட்டி திட்டு செலுத்துவதாக ஓட்டி கையத்திட்டுக் குடுததொம் இவ்விரு
வொம் சொமங்கலத்து ஸ்ரீமெயாரக்கு [11*]
- 5 இப்படி அறிவெ⁴

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the sixth year of king Jatāvarman *alias* Srī-Sundaśōla-Pāndyadēva, I, Irāiyān-Achchan a *maṇṇāḍi* of this village shall be security for the tax (due) as my (own) debt, if Āyiravan-Dēvan of Śendil the tenant (*mudukuḍi*) of the temple of Ten-Tiruvaraṅgamudaiyār should shift from (the jurisdiction of) this assembly. If I say nay to this, I shall incur a fine of six *kalaṅju* of gold to the king for each day (of default)

Thus, we two agreed (to the above) and gave a written declaration to the council (*śabhayā*) of Chēramaṅgalam. This (I) know

(B) Registered as No 77 of the Trav Epig. Colln for 1093 M. E.

- 1 It is probably a contraction for தன கட[ம*] ஆக or கட[மை] ஆக.
- 2 If it is கொவிலுக்கு, the fine was payable to the temple
- 3 Read இவ்வூ.
- 4 The record stops here

C

On the south base of the central shrine

- 1 ஸ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [1^r] செரமங்கலத்து இணைய சிங்க¹-
- 2 வீர[ன்²] தெனத்திருவரங்கமுடையயா[ர*] [க்கு இட்ட கிண்டி²

D

On a pillar in front of the temple

- 1 தெனந- 3 நகத்து
- 2 திருவர- 4 ஆழ்வார

No. 9—An inscription from Tiruvanvandur.

Tiruvanvandūr which is known by the name of Tiruvenmandūr and Tiru-
vanmandūr in inscriptions is one of the thirteen holy places of Malai-mandalam
sung in the hymns of Nammālvār. It is referred to in the *Nāḷāyiraprabā-*
*ndham*⁴ as well as in *Māraṇalankūrām*⁵ and *Aṣṭaprabandham*⁶ as Tiruvan-
vandūr, the change of *vandūr* into *mandūr* being accounted for by the genius of
the Malayalam language (*cf.* *vaṇṇān*, *maṇṇāṇ*).

(C) & (D) These are registered as Nos 78 and 79 of Trav Epig Colln for 1093 M B (Vatteluttu and Tamil)

- 1 Read இரணியசிங்கவீரன்
- 2 A few letters mentioning the weight of the *gudi* (vessel with a spout) are missing
- 3 The following two inscriptions are fragmentary records in Vatteluttu

E.—(No 80 of 1093)

- 1 ஸ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [1^r] இடவத்தில வியா
- 2 நறு செரமங்கலத்து தெவா தெனறி . . .
- 3 டடு அதியனாரான அழகியபாண்டி
- 4 தினெண்பூமி டட்டணமான
- 5 பொகம ஆற்றப்புரத்து முதத்தறை ஆ
- 6 நைக்கு மெக்கு கானுக்கு வட

F.—(On the balikkal)

- 1 ஸ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [1^r] ராஜராஜத்தெனாட்டு ஸ்ஷி
- 2 ஹிஷெயம் செரமங்கலத்து ஆழ்வார தெனத்திரு-
- 3 வரங்க

4 *Tiruvēṇṇāḍi*, VI, 1.

5 மலாமகன் சோமணிமாரடன வைகலும் வைகலும் மறுகில
வணரோ வணரோ

—*Māraṇalankūrām*, v. 713

6 தேசமுலகுமுயிருந் திரிநதுபிறமும்
யாவும் படைத்த விறைகணமா—பூவிற
நிருவணவணருமையுந் தேவாதிதேவன்
மருவணவணரோ துளவமால

—*Nū rettu-tiruppatu-anūḍi*, v. 67

The Vishnu temple at that place, which must therefore be of great antiquity dating at least from the time of Naminālvār, the Vaishnava saint who has been considered by some to have flourished about the beginning of the 9th century, contains also epigraphical evidence of its early age in the two records of the Vēnādu king Śrīvallabhaṅgōḍu (about A D 970) which have been published already. The present record can from its writing be approximately assigned to about the same period or a few decades later.

It registers a gift of some lands by Ediran-Kaviran of Kurattikkādu for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the Vishnu temple at Tiruvanmandūr, which were left in the hands of a body called the *aṅṅu-gaṇattāi*¹, who were to enjoy the lands and burn the lamp in the temple. The donor, however, retained the right to take back the lands from these men if they were remiss in their service and to give them to his own descendants to cultivate and continue the supply of ghee for the perpetual lamp. The 'three-hundred' of Naṅṅulai-nādu were entrusted with the general supervision of this charity.

It is interesting to note that in all the three epigraphs of Tiruvanvandūr the transgressors were threatened with the penalty of the operation of the Mūlik-kāḷa-kachchan, which must have wielded considerable influence in those days. Mūlikkāḷam or Mūshikakūlam was one of the four places, where an early *kuḷakam* (*kalakam*) or assembly was installed according to the *Kēraḷōḷppatti*.

The proper names occurring in the record are.

Ediran-Kaviran of Kurattikkādu (in the Tiruvalla taluk).

Śūman-Kampan of Charuppēḍumangalam,

Śāttan-Kīraṇ of Tālānāṭṭu,

Suvaran-Śāttan of Nēṇṇāḍi,

Devan-Śūman of Elumulaichebēri,

Śankaraṇ-Suvaran of Tālaiman, and

Vadukikōḍu and Udiyaṅkōḍu among names of fields.

Text.²

- 1 . . கா [ட]கததுள வியாழ நிறக யிரிசசிகஞாயிறுசு செயத காரியமா வது[1*] திருவெண்மணடூ பட்டாரகா திருவடிகரு குறத்திகாட்டு எதி ராகவிரா அமைச்ச நந்தாவிளக்கினு திருவெண்மணடூ ஊரா-
- 2 முன்று பொன் கொடுத்த [கொ]ண்ட பூமி[1*]வடுகிகொடும் உதியன் கொட்டில பாதியும் இவவிர[ண்டு] பூமியும் நந்தாவிளக்கினு அமைச்சரன் [1] இநந்தாவிளக்கினு ஐஞ்சு கணத்தாரும் நெய் யட்டக்கடவியா [1*] இவவஞ்சு கணத்தாரும் உழவு அடுத்தாலு ஒருநாள் [முட்]டிககில
- 3 ம உழுமவகளுக்கு இப்பூமி விலக்கிலும் திருவிளக்கு முட்டிக்கிலும் முழிக்களத்து படுவதெ [1*] முட்டிச்சவனு அனுபந்தம் பறையுமவனும பெருமானடிகள் திருவடிகரு ஐம்பதிந கழைஞ்சு பொனத்தண்டம் . . . நாடுவாழுமவாக்கும இருபத்தைந்[கழைஞ்ஞ] பொனத்த-

1 Compare also the *pañcagāṇas* of the epic age and the *aṃperuṅṅulu* of Tamil literature.

2 This is registered as No 16 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1097 M. F.

- 4 சருபபெதிமங்கலத்து செநநங் கண்ணனும் தா[ழ]ஞ்செரியுடை சா
ததங் கிரனும் நாராயணமங்கலயுடை சுவரஞ் சாததனும் எழுமுனைச்செ
ரியுடைப தெவஞ் செநநனும் தாழைமண்ணுடைய சங்கரஞ் சுவரனும்
இவகள ஐயவரும் இப்பூமிகு இ[றை] அ[மி]ச்சிணு
- 5 . யிராதொழிவொராயில இவகளுடைய செல[மிது]¹ எப்படிப்படடி
தும் விலக்கி யுள தடுத்தவைச்சு மிட்டிகொளளக்கடவிய²ன [i*] ஒரு
தீவள் அடுத்து முட்டிக்கில அவன தந்தி³ உழுது நின்ற நெய்யட்டக
கடவிய [i*] இததிருவிளக்கு வைச்சான குறத்திகாட்டு எதி-
- 6 . ⁴ரன நனறுழநாட்டு முந்நாறுவரும் கண்டு செலுத்தக கடவியா[||⁶]

Translation.

In the month of Vriścika when Jupiter stood in . . . taka, the following transaction was made —

Ediran-Kavnan of Kurattikādu gave, by purchase for 3 *pon* from the *ār* of Tiruvenmandur, the two (pieces of) lands Vadug-kōḍu and a half of Udiyan-kōḍu, for the perpetual lamp which he instituted in the temple of (the god) Tiruvenmandūr-Bhataraka. The five representatives (*yanattā*) shall measure out ghee to this perpetual lamp. If in the cultivation of this land . . . be stopped for one day . . . if the tenants be ejected from this land, and if the sacred lamp fail (to be lighted), they shall be subject to (the penalty of) Mūlikkalam. The defaulter and he who abets him shall pay a fine of fifty *kalaṅṅu* of gold to the king (Perumānadigal-Tiruvadi) and a fine of twenty-five *kalaṅṅu* of gold to the officer administering the district.

Śēnpan-Kannan of Saruppēdimangalam, Śāttan-Kīraṇ of Tālaṅjēri, Śuvaran-Śāttan of Nārāyanamaṅgalam, Dēvan-Śēnpan of Elunūlaichchēri, Saṅkaran-Śuvaran of Tālaṁai—these five persons shall pay the tax on this land; if they fail to do so, the lands shall be taken back from them forfeiting their expenditure. If there is default for one month consecutively, his (the donor's) descendants shall cultivate the lands and supply the ghee. This sacred lamp was (thus) given by Ediraṇ-Kaviraṇ of Kurattikādu. The 'three-hundred' of Nanrula-nāḍu shall also supervise this supply (of ghee).

No. 10—Fragmentary record of Indukodaivarman.

This inscription is engraved on the base of the *surru-mandapa* of the same Viṣṇu temple at Tiruvanvandūr. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet and is so completely defaced that only a few syllables are legible here and there. The incomplete transcript is, however, given below, as the record is dated in the year opposite to the fifth year of the early king Kō-Indukōdaivarman,⁵ whose position

1 Compare the restriction,

மிகமுட்டிக்கில செனற செலவினோடு பாட்டம் விடக்கடவியா

occurring in the Tirukkudittanam inscription, *T. A. S.*, Vol II, p 36

2 *y* is engraved below the line.

3 The two *th*'s are written below the line.

4 The missing syllables are clearly 'ரங்கவி' in this instance.

5 *Tiruv. Archil. Series*, Vol III, p 162

in the Chēra genealogy has been fixed before Bhaskara Ravivarma. The record further mentions Kunaran-Kumappōlan, and the *munṇirruvar* of Nanrulai-nādu.

Text.²

- 1 கொவிந்து கொதைவாமமாகஞ்செ [யயா]மாண்டைக
கெதிர்மாண்டு .
2 நனறுழநாட்டு முந்நாறுவரும் . . . சஞ செந்தனு மங்கலத்து
குமரஞ்ஞனற்பொழனு நனறுழநாட்டு யனும இநால்வரும் . .
3
சச திருவிண்மணநீரும்

No. 11—Peruneyil inscription of the 11th century A. D.

This inscription is engraved on the south base of the central shrine in the temple at Peruneyil which is a suburb of Chenganachery. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the Tamil language. On palaeographical grounds the record may be assigned to about the end of the 10th or to the beginning of the 11th century A. D., as the characters are very much like those of the records of that period.

It registers a gift of some paddy and land by a certain Ediran-Kaviran of Jñāvarkkādu for feeding one thousand brahmins during the annual festival of the temple falling in the month of Kanni. It may be noted that in an epigraph from Tiruvānvandū of about the same period as this, a certain Ediran-Kaviran of Kurattikkādu (Tiruvalla taluk) figures as a donor of a perpetual lamp to the Vishnu temple of that place and as the reading Jñāvarkkādu of the present record is not quite free from doubt, it is probable that the two individuals were identical.

The recipients of the gift were the members of the *tirunālyanam* and the *poḻuvāl* of Peruneydal. The defaulter was subject to the payment of a fine of 100 *kalaṇṇu* of gold to the *Kōyiladhikāri* who belonged to the ministry (*amarchchullu-ruttā?*), 50 *kalaṇṇu* to the ruler of the district and 12 *kalaṇṇu* to the immediate controlling authority, perhaps the village official. The *perumānāḍiṇ* has here taken the place of *perumānāḍiṇal* (king), to whom the first penalty was generally payable. *Tirunālyanam* represents the body of men who looked after the festivals of the temple. *Gana* as a body corporate in religious institutions is well-known from ancient times when it wielded political power also.

The contributions of cocoanuts, plantains etc. which the *vilāvāriyar* had to provide for the feeding during the annual festivals of the temple were the customary perquisites which they had to supply from the *pañchabhōgam*⁴ or the five products of a typical West Coast garden, viz.,

1. Kombu-chakka, a jack for each tree,
2. Kula-tēṅgā, a bunch of cocoanuts,

1 Registered as No. 100 of the Trav. Epig. Colln for 1086 M. E.

2 The *utsava-sankētas* of the *Raghuramā* and the *Mahabhārata* appear to be similar corporate bodies and not tribes. शरैस्त्वसकेतान् स कृत्वा विरतोत्सवान् and गणान् उत्सवसकेतान् अजयन् सप्त पाण्डवाः.

3 *Trav. State Manual* Vol. III, p. 319.

- 3 Kula-adakka, a bunch of arecanuts,
4. Kula-vālai, a bunch of plantains, and
- 5 Vettu-ōla, share in the cocoanut leaves cut.

The *podurāl* had also to supply some vegetables on these occasions on behalf of the lands which they were enjoying as *virutti*-holdings. In lieu of this load of vegetables, its commuted value (*chumattu-panam*)¹ was sometimes payable by the tenants.

Text.²

- 1 வ்வுத் து[||*] கன்னியில் வியாழந் நிற[க*] கன்னி ஞாயிறு ஞாயிறுணட அசுவதி நாள பெருநெய்தல் முக்காலவட்டத் திருநா திருநாள்க்கண-ததா நம் பொதுவாளும் அவிர்ரோத[த*] தால் கூடிச செயத் கரும்மாவ-து[||*] இத திருநாள்க்கணத்தார்க்கு ஞாவலக்காட்டு எதிரங்கவிரன க-ளத்திலொடியாகின்ற பூமி இருநூற்றுக் கலத்தின் மெலும் முஞ்ஞா-டு[வு] டைய ஆசைச்ச கொலைக்கு எதிரங்கவிரன கொடுத்ததுடைய நெல் பதினாழிப்பறையால் ஆயிரம் பறையும் விறிறிட்டிச [வண்ணம்] பதினாழிப்பறையால் ஈராயிரம் பறையெல்லும் ஆட்டா-
- 2 ண்டு கன்னிஞாயிறொறும் திருநாள்க்கணத்தாருடைய திருவாராதனத் தி-ல ஆயிரவா பிரம்மணரை அமிரது சையவிப்பிதாகத் திருநாளக் கணத்-தா பொதுவாள சையி லட்டிக[கொ]டுத்தான எதிரங்கவிரன[||*] இததிருவாராதனம் பத்துநாளிலும், கன்னிஞாயிறு மமரலகூத்ததில் பஞ்ச-மீ துடவநி நியதி னூறு நூறு மானிடத்தை அமிரது சையய்ச்ச ஆறு-ட்டக்கடவா ஆட்டாண்டும வாரியரும் பொதுவாளும் எதிரங்கவிரனும் [||*] இதர வழியால் [ஒரோத்தா] ஒரோத்தா இரட்டிடடடை குலை வா-ழைக்காயும் ஒரோ குலை வாழைப்பழமுட . . .
- 3 முபது பத்து தெங்காயும் ஒரோத்தொறு தத் திரட்டிரண்டு கறியும் இருநா-ழிச சைய்துபபும் இருபலஞ சையதுபுளியும் அஞ்ஞாழிச சையதுகயிரும் பதினாழிச சையதுமோரும் கொண்டு வந்து தத்தமக்கு பட்ட நாள கொண்டு வந்து அகத்து பந்திரடியில் முன்னைய விழாவாரியரும் பொ-துவாளொடு கூட அளவு கொடுத்த மிாது சையயிக்க கடவா[||*] பொ-துவா ளிருநூறு புளிக்கறி கொண்டு வந்து கொடுக்க கடவன[||:] திரிஞ-னு பந்திரடியில் முன்னையமிரது செய்யிசச விழாப்பலி புறப்படக்கடவா வாரியரும் பொதுவாளும்[||*] இ[லை]யும் விறகும் வத்திர விழாச்செய்யு மங்கள் கொண்டு
- 4 அடிக்க கடவா[||*] இப்பரிசைய இததிருவிழாவிரது எதிரங்கவிர னமைச்ச-செலவு அமைஞ்ஞவண்ணம் முட்டாதெ செலுத்தக் கடவா திருநாள்க்க-ணத்தாநம் பொதுவாளும் [||*] இப்பரி சொட்டின்காலத்து முட்டா-தெ செலுத்தாதொழிவராகில அமைச்சள்ளு[றுத்த] கொயிலதிகாரிக்கு நூறுகக்கழைஞ்ஞம் நாடுவாழும்வாக்கு அயம்பதின் கழைஞ்ஞம் வாழ்க்கைவாழும்வாக்கு பந்திருக்கழைஞ்ஞ பொன தண்ட[ப]பட[க*]-கடவா[||*] இடையிடன இச்செலவினு விரோதிககில் இததண்டம் பொ-

1 Trav State Manual, Vol III, p 335

2 Registered as No 14 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1097 M L (Also No. 85 of 1086)

3 குலை looks like கரு

[ன¹]னும் பட்டு தவைககும் பந்திநு கழைஞ்ஞு பொன் தண்டம் வைச்சு
காட்டப்பெறக¹ கடவன் [II*] திருநாளககணத்தா -

5 னுடைப கரியிலப புகுது ஸ்கக் சமவரும் பொருள கவரும்வரும் இ[த²]தன்-
டம்படக்கடகியா [II*] இவமைஞ்ஞு கறியும் முட்டி யூணவொன்று கு-
றையிலும் கொண்டுவாரா தொழிஞ்ஞு கணத்தான இரண்டரைக காணம்
பொன் தண்டம் வைச்சு [க கொண்டு] அடைக்காயமிது மிடக்கடவியன்
[II*] களத்திலெட்டி [நெல்லு] ஆதிச்சககொதை தந்து செல்லானாகில்
முழாவு திருநாளககணத்தாரும் பொதுவாரும் எதிரங்கவிரனும் கூடி-
மற்றொரு பூமி மெலிட்டு எதிரங்கவிரனைக்கொண்டு காராணமை செய்யி-
ச்சு ஆண்டாண்டும் எண்ணுழிப்பறையா விருநாறுபறை .

6 க அரிகுறதிநு⁴ கொடுக்கடவன் [II*] எதிரங்கவிரனும் தந்ததியும் இப பூமி
காராணமைச செயது நெல்லளப்பா ஹற்றொழிகில கணத்தாரும் பொ-
துவாரும் தாங்களெய் உழுது கொண்டு செலுத்தக்கடவா [II*] எதிரங்கவி-
ர[னும்] அவன் பெண்ணு பிள்ளையும் ருக்கக்கடவா பொதுவாரும் கண-
த்தாரும் [II*] எதிரங்கவிரனாக பெண்ணும் பிள்ளைகளும் தந்ததிககும்-
[மு]டைப -

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! The following is the transaction made unanimously on the day of *Aśvati* which was a Sunday in the month of *Kanni* (of the year) in which Jupiter stood in *Kanyā-rāsi* when, in the temple at *Peruneydal* were assembled together the *irunālyanattār* (i.e., the body of men managing the temple festivals) and the *poduvāl*. In order that one thousand *Brāhmaṇas* may be fed each year during the festivals conducted by the *irunālyanattār* in the month of *Kanni*, *Edirañ-Kaviran* of *Jñāvalkādu* gave with libation of water to this body of *irunālyanattār*, the land called *Kalattinālōdi* with the sowing capacity of two-hundred *kalam* of seed, and two thousand *parai* of seed-paddy measured by the *parai* holding ten *nāl*, as doubled by sale from the quantity of one thousand *parai* of paddy measured by the *parai* of ten *nāl*, given by *Edirañ-Kaviran* to *Ādichchan Kōdai* of *Muññinādu*. Annually, the *vāriyar*, the *poduvāl* and *Edirañ-Kaviran* shall feed daily one hundred men during the ten days of this festival commencing from the fifth *tiṭhi* of the second fortnight of the month of *Kanni* and have the *ārattu* (ceremony done). By a different arrangement have the *vilā-vāriyār* each by himself, separately and individually, to bring on the days fixed for them, two bunches of unripe plantain, one bunch of plantain fruits, ten cocoanuts, two kinds of vegetables, two *nāl* of pure salt, two *palam* of good tamarind, five *nāl* of good curds, ten *nāl* of good buttermilk, have them measured out to the *poduvāl* before the twelve-feet-time before noon, and have the feeding conducted. The *poduvāl* shall bring and give two hundred vegetables for frying (for the occasions). After the feeding is made, and before the twelve-feet-time afternoon, the *bali*-procession of the festival shall be started by the *vāriyar* and the *poduvāl*. Those who perform the *Uttira*-festival . . . shall supply leaves and fuel.

1 This may be also a mistake for பாட்டம் பெறக்கடவன், if it is காட்டக்கடவன், பெற is unnecessary

2 Engraved above the line

3 Read விழாவு.

4 This is not understood

5 The name of the donor is repeated in the original

Thus, the *tirunālganattār* and the *poduvāl* shall expend according to the scale of expenses fixed by Edirañ-Kaviran for this festival and without causing any default. If they fail to so expend without default and at the stated times, they shall be liable to pay a fine of one hundred *kalañju* of gold to the Kōyiladhikāri (in the presence) of the ministers, fifty *kalañju* (of gold) to the ruler of the district, and twelve *kalañju* to the *vālkkaivālumavaṇ* (immediate controlling authority). If the *idaiyīdan* (here refers to the cultivator) objects to the expenses, he shall, besides paying the above fixed fines, pay a fine of twelve *kalañju* of gold to the assembly, so as to be seen by others. Those who enter on the lands of the *tirunālganattār* and eject (the tenants) and those who exact money from (them) shall be subject to these fines. If the stipulated vegetables fail and the feeding is diminished even by one, the *ganattār* who failed to bring the dues, shall pay a fine of two and a half *kānam* of gold together with (supplying) betel-leaves¹ and nuts. If Ādichchan-Kōdai fail to give his dues on Kaḷattinālōdi, the *tirunālganattār* the *poduvāl* and Edirañ-Kaviran shall conjointly invest (the capital) on some other land and, getting that land cultivated by Edirañ-Kaviran, shall pay annually two hundred *parai*, as measured by the *parai* holding eight *nāh*, and

If Edirañ-Kaviran and his successors become incapable of cultivating this land and measuring out the paddy, the *ganattār* and the *poduvāl* shall themselves take up the cultivation and supply (the paddy)

(In that case), the *ganattār* and the *poduvāl* shall protect Ediran-Kaviran and his male and female relations² Edirañ-Kaviran belonging to his male and female relations.

No. 12.— Peruneyil Inscription of Kulasekhara-Koyiladhikari.

This inscription is engraved on a slab set up on the west side of the central shrine in the temple at Peruneyil. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the language is the western dialect of Tamil with a few peculiarities.

The record is dated in the 8th year opposite to the 2nd of the reign of Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikāri but does not give the Kollam year, stating only that Jupiter was in the Karkataka-rāśi. The inscription of the Rāmēśvara temple at Quilon dated in Kollam 278 and mentioning a Kōyiladhikāri Kulaśekhara-Chakravartin cannot be far removed from this record in point of time.

It registers a royal order issued by Kulaśekhara-Kōyiladhikāri who was staying at Neḍiyatali, granting an annual income of forty *kalam* along with *arandaḥ* in favour of the temple of Peruneyil for the expenses of feeding some persons in the temple and for having the *Mahābhārata* expounded. The recipients of the grant were the members of the village assembly and the *poduvāl*. The grant was ratified at the command of the Kōyiladhikāri by the chieftains of the two villages of Kāpālīmaṅgalam and Muttūru, who promised not to collect the *arandaḥ* thereafter.

1 *Adaḥ* means 'leaf' and *kāy* areca-nut— 'நெய்யிலடைநலைதோர சோழம் நெய்யிலடைநலைதோர சோழம்' - *Tiruppallandu*, though *adaḥ* now signifies only nuts.

2 The wording of this last portion is not quite free from doubt

Two other place-names occur in the inscription, *viz.*, Kāmakkānappalli¹ and Kādamba nādu². Of these Kāpālīmaṅgalam and Kāmakkānappalli appear in the Tiruvalla plates and Nediyaṭali³ is mentioned in two records of Tnukkākkarai. Mittūrukūrram figures in *Puram* 24 as being subject to the sway of one of the Vēlir chiefs. A place named Muttūrumūlai⁴ is mentioned in the Tiruvalla plates. But this Muttūru⁵ may possibly be Muttūru in the Tiruvalla taluk.

Paḍi or *Kuḍippaḍi* is the term which has been applied to the chieftains of Punnaittalappati⁶ and Pūlaikkudippati, mentioned in the Kottayam plates of Sthānu-Ravi. The term *āttakkol* means 'what is obtained during the year'. *Tirukkai-nanauki-k-aruliyār* which literally means 'was pleased to wet the hands' is used to indicate that the gift was made 'with libation of water'. *Paḍiyurutti* (l. 55) literally 'impressed on the chiefs' means that the order was conveyed to the chiefs. The spurious use of the dialectic forms *olla* (l. 4) *aruliyār* (l. 23, 70, 71), and *va-una* (l. 58) may be noted. The meaning of *arandaṭi* is not clear, but it seems to signify some kind of tax in money or in kind payable to *dēśavāḷis*, its literary synonym is 'miseria'.

Text ⁷

- 1 வீழி ஸ்ரீ [11'] இரா-
- 2 மாண்டைக்கெதி எ-
- 3 ட்டாமாண்டு சூலை-
- 4 செகர கெயிலதி-
- 5 காரிகள திருவிரா-
- 6 சசியஞ செல்லா-
- 7 னினற காககடகத-
- 8 கில வியாழத்தி-
- 9 ல விரிச்சிக-
- 10 ஞாயிறறு நாலு
- 11 தனியையுந திரு-
- 12 கஞ்நறப்பொழை-
- 13 யுந கூட்டி கொ-
- 14 ணடு நெடியதனி
- 15 இருநருளி பெரு-
- 16 நெய்தல ஆட்டைக-
- 17 கொளால் நால்பப-
- 18 தின கலந நெல-
- 19 லும பெருநெய்த-
- 20 ல அரந்தையும் அ-

1 *Trav Archl Series*, Vol II p 154

2 *Ibid* Vol. II p 183

3 *Ibid* Vol. II p 47

4 *Ibid* Vol. II p 163

5 ஐதூரிலுள்ளிருந்தும் பின்னிவிடுத்த மொ

ஐதூரிலு் விரிவொது நவீன மாவகோடிக் கவனக்—

Unumūḷisandēsam v 125.

6 *Ibid*, Vol II p 82

7 This is registered as No 15 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1097 M E (Also No 87 of 1086)

No 12—RECORD OF KULASEKHARA-KOYILADHIKARI

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- 21 ட்டிலபெருய தி-
 22 ருககை நனைச்ச-
 23 ருளியார [1^{*}] ஆட்டைக
 24 ட்டொள் நமக்காரமும்
 25 மாபாரதமுந தி-
 26 ருவுள்ளம் பண்-
 27 ணியருளியார அ-
 28 மைச்சுள்ள பதி¹-
 29 ய சூலைசெகரகொ
 30 யிலதிகாரிகள் [11^{*}]

Second face

- 31 ஆட்டைக்கொள்
 32 நாற்பதினகல-
 33 மும் அரந்தையு-
 34 ம் பெருநெய்தல
 35 ண்ரும பொதுவா-
 36 ண்ரும் அட்டிலபெ-
 37 ருய் கொண்டார [11^{*}] கொயி-
 38 லதிகாரிக-
 39 ள் காபர்லிமநு-
 40 லத்தும் முததூ-
 41 றறும் ஒள்ள
 42 குடிபதிக்-
 43 கு திருமுக-
 44 ந் திருவுள்ளம்
 45 புண்ணிக² காம-
 46 ககாநப்பள்ளி
 47 இராமந் தாய்-
 48 னும கட்டமன
 49 ட்டை நாராய-
 50 ண் நாராயணனும
 51 ணாப்பொதுவா-
 52 ண்ருங் கூடி திரு-
 53 [மு]கம் பதியுறு-
 54 ததி [1^{*}] இரண்டு-
 55 [க] குடிபதியு-
 56 ம் பெருநெய்தல
 57 [மு]ககாலவ-
 58 ட்டத்தது வநநு

Third face.

- 59 கூடி அ-
 60 ரந்தை³ அ-

1. அமைச்சுள்ளு [த^{*}] திய seems to be a better reading. Compare also 'அமைச்சுள்ளுத்த கோயி-
 திகாரிகளுக்கு' (T. A. S., II, p 44) and 'அமைச்சுள்ளுத்த கோயில்திகாரிகளுக்கு' (T. A. S., V, p.35)

2 Read பண்ணக.

3 The word *aranda* has been used in the sense of 'misery' in *Silappadigaram*

அரந்தை கெடுதது வரந்தருமியவளை ஆடித்திவகன கவையினுக்கோ — *Urauppariyalattar*, 3.

- 61 டுகும-¹
 62 தெழிஞ-
 63 ளுரென-
 64 று கல ற-
 65 ழுநா-
 66 டிகு கொ
 67 தெதார
 68 திருவு-
 69 மட பன-
 70 னியநுளி-
 71 ப டார-
 72 ககடெ [11]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the eighth year current opposite to the second year of the prosperous reign of Kulasekhara-Kōyilādhikāraṅgal, when Jupiter was in Karkataka and in the month of Vriścika, Kulasekhara-Kōyilādhikāri, who having taken the four *talas*² and Tirukkunrappōlai (with him), was pleased to be present in Nediyaṭal, and was pleased to grant, after informing the ministry, as an *attippēru* with libation of water, the forty *kalam* of paddy accruing annually from Peruneydal along with the *arandai* of Peruneydal. He was pleased to order the feeding (of persons) and (the reading of) the Mahābhārata from (this) annual income. (The members of the assembly of) the village of Peruneydal and the *poduvāl* received as *attippēru* the annual income of forty *kalam* and *arandai*. Kōyilādhikāraṅgal issued a royal order to the chieftains of the inhabitants of Kāpālmangalam and Muttūru; Rāman-Tāyan of Kāmakkānappall and Nārāyanan-Nārāyanan of Kadamba-nādu as well as the *in-poduvāl* conjointly informed the chieftains of (this) royal order, the chieftains of the inhabitants of these two villages came to the temple of Peruneydal and caused the fact that they, as stated in the royal order, shall refrain from obtaining the *arandai*, to be engraved on stone and had it set up

No. 13.—Quilon inscription of Kollam 278.

This record is engraved on a pillar set up in the compound of the Rāmēśvaraśvamin temple at Quilon. It is very much weather-worn and the inscription which is so illegible in many places as to render it difficult to trace its proper continuity as a whole is given below in its incomplete state. Fortunately, however, the introductory portion which contains the main interesting details of the record is clear enough.

In the *Annual Report* for 1095 M. E., Mr K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar has made the following note on this inscription —

'No. 54 of Appendix B comes from the Rāmēśvara temple at Quilon. It is dated in the month of Simha of the Kollam year 278 (A. D. 1103) and in the

1 அடிகுமது in the sense of 'collecting' is rather rare. *Adukuvadu* is a fee due to the Sirkar payable by a successor to property or tenure (*State Manual*). It also signifies the right retained by the proprietor from the purchaser.

2 This has been explained on page 43 *infra*.

3 Logan defines *paṭi* as an intermediary between the *kon* and the actual landholder.

2nd + 14th year of the king's reign, when Jupiter was in the sign Virgo. This yields A. D. 1087 for the accession of the king. That portion of the record which contains the name of the king is much damaged, but it can be tentatively read as Rāmar-Tiruvadi. The Kōyiladhikāri i. e., the officer in charge of the king's palace who must have been a near relation of his, probably the senior prince, while staying in the palace at Papaingāvu in Kurakkēni-Kollam (i. e., Quilon) ordered certain grants of lands to be made to the temple of Rāmēchchuram, as an atonement for the enmity incurred with the Āryas. It is not quite clear who are meant by the term Āryas. Perhaps, there is here a reference to the Tamil followers of the Chālukya-Chōla king Kulōttunga I, who, at this time, invaded the south-western portion of the Peninsula (*South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I, p. 144.) subdued the five Pāndyas, burnt the fort of Kōttāru and crushed the army of the Kēraḷas (*S. I. I.* Vol. I, p. 168). Since Quilon was an important place in the dominion of the Vēnādu kings from the earliest times, it may not be unreasonable to take the Rāma-Tiruvadi of this record as one of its rulers, though the possibility of his being a member of the Chēra line is not precluded. And the temple of Rāmēchchuram might have been named after him. But if it were still earlier, it should have been founded by the Vēnādu king Rāma-Tiruvadi who figures in the Kottayam grant of Sthānu-Ravi of the ninth century A. D.

Two other records belonging to a king called Kulāśekhara-Kōyiladhikāṅgal and Kulāśekhara-Perumāl respectively have been copied at Peruneyl¹ and Tiruvālūr² and they have been published *ante*. The former is dated in the 8th year opposite to the 2nd year when the position of Jupiter was in the Karkataka-rāśi, while the latter was issued in the year opposite to the same 2nd year when Jupiter stood in Makara. As the Quilon record also bears some illegible date (புது . . . டிசம்பர்) opposite to the same 2nd year, and as the script of the three different epigraphs is of about the same period, there is nothing improbable in identifying the three kings with one another. The planet Jupiter which was in the Makararāśi in the 2nd + 1st year (expired?) was correctly in Karkataka six years later in the 2nd + 8th year; and as it had travelled on to Kānni by the time of the Quilon inscription, the date of that record can be only 2 years later than that of the Peruneyl epigraph, and its illegible date portion can therefore be calculated as 2nd + 11th year and not 2nd + 14th year, when Jupiter will have journeyed a few more houses farther off than Kānni.

It has to be noticed that while the records of Peruneyl and Tiruvālūr are expressly dated in the distinctive reign of Kulāśekhara, the Quilon epigraph introduces a Śrī Kulāśekhara-chakravartin who was the Kōyiladhikāri of [Rāma]-Tiruvadi³. The title of 'Chakravartin' given to the former coupled with the fact that the other two records mention him as the reigning king (*tiruvirājyam chella-nirra*) seems, however, to point to the possibility that 'Rāmar-Tiruvadi' to whom Kulāśekhara was the Kōyiladhikāri may refer to the god⁴ at Quilon. A better interpretation is possible of considering Rāma-Tiruvadi-Kōyiladhikāṅgal as the name of the

1 vide page 38 *supra*

2 *Tamil Arch. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 145

3 Another reading also seems possible—சுரேந்திரபதி, who may have been an earlier name-sake of Vīrarāyavarman of A. D. 1645 (*Cochin Manual*, p. 80)

4 *Tiruvadi* is a title applied to gods, kings, queens and saints, of Tiruvandikkaram-Bhatāraka-Tiruvadi

king and Kulaśekhara-chakravartigaḥ as an *alias* (*āyama*) or his regal title. If however, Rāma-Tiruvadi was the king and Kulaśekhara, his *Kōyiladhikāri*, then who have to consider that both of them attained to their respective positions in the same year and that the latter while referring himself to the regnal year of his suzerain in the territory of Quilon, has styled himself as regular king in the more northern territory. Future discoveries can alone decide this point one way or the other; but it looks more probable that Kulaśekhara of these records was a Chēra king and that Quilon was his southern outpost where he had encamped for some time in the palace at Papanāyāru¹ at the time of the present record. The record further on states that there was a subordinate chief Vikkīraman, who was administering the Quilon territory (L. 47-8), but unfortunately that particular portion is too-damaged to furnish any clear information. It may be noted that the Cochin Rajas still style themselves as Kōyiladhikāriḥ in documents relating to the landed property of temples,² their usual title being 'Perunbadappu Gangādhara Vnakērala Tirukkōyiladhikāriḥ'.

As regards the enmity with the Āryas for which the expiatory donation of offering worship in the Rāmēśvaram temple at Quilon was instituted by the king, it is not definitely known if the sin referred to was that of fighting with the invading forces of the Chōla king Kulōttunga I. As a Kshatriya, his *dharma* lay in fighting against his enemies and it could not have been a sin to be atoned for. No doubt Bālamārttāndavarman, the Conqueror, organised the Muṇajapam and other ceremonies to wash off the sins of his 'wars of aggression', but here it was only one of defence. The term 'Āryas' may have probably been used to refer to brāhmanas or to *taraiyāriyars* of other records, some of whom the king may have molested and maltreated either justly or wantonly, and that as an act of expiation for his outrage on members of the highest caste (the *bhūsuās*) connected with the temple management, he may have bestowed some gifts to the temple. The fact that 'Ārya-brāhmanas' (U. 33-4) are stated to have mustered strong in the temple along with other State officers on the occasion of this gift, seems to favour this view. There have been many instances in which delinquent chiefs or kings either voluntarily or under the moral stress of public opinion as voiced by the religious corporations called *yōgams*, made ample amends for their acts of petty tyranny and coercion. Notable among these are the following cases recorded in the temple chronicles of Trivandrum, which bear a resemblance to the present incident.

(1) Vīra-Kēralavarman Tiruvadi⁴ paid some land compensation to the survivors of certain Dēśikal (brahman immigrants) whom he had murdered at Nilai-mēlkunnu and also made a gift of 157 *kōttas* of land and 30,000 *panam* to the Padmanābhasvāmī temple at Trivandrum for assaulting some temple servants;

1 This palace also occurs in the Mambalī plate of Vallabhaṅgōḍai (A. D. 974) - *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 9. *Unumūlasandēsam* (c. 1350) has in verse 74

തേരേവിനെ പ്രിയസഖ പനങ്ങാവനത്തിന്നകംപു.

അദ്ദേഹം പനങ്ങാവിളക്കുതാങ്ങേരവീം അഭരവീം തം.

2 *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII, p. 117.

3 *Cochin State Manual*, p. 39.

4 *Trav. State Manual* Vol. I, p. 264.

(ii) Vīra Mārttāṇḍavarman¹ made a similar expiatory donation to that temple for having put to death several men in the war that took place near Kili-mānūr.

(iii) Vīra Ravivarman² bestowed some gifts to the temple at Trivandrum for wrongly appropriating properties belonging to the Kuruvai-*ṛṇṇam*, and

(iv) Vīra Rāmavarman³ atoned for certain atrocities committed by him in Āyṅōnain, Vīranarāyaṇachēri and Puliyakuruchchi by making a gift of an elephant to the temple.

These penalties were called *garvakiṭṭu* or amercement for highhandedness, and other similar instances may be multiplied. In all these cases, the question of expiation came in only when sins were committed on the king's own volition during wars of aggression or in petty acts of despotism, and it therefore seems probable that the incident recorded in the Quilon inscription may have been also of a similar nature.

One other point deserves mention, *viz.*, that in both this and the Peruneyil epigraphs the king is stated to have been accompanied by the four *taḷi*

நாலுதளி அடியுட திருக்குன்றப்போழையுட கூட்டிக்கொண்டு நெடியதளி
யிருநகருளி —Peruneyil,

நாலுதளியு மாயிரம் அறுதூறறுவரும் இநநாடுவாழ்க்கையான ...
முதலாயினா சாமந்தரும் திருக்கைக்கிழ கூடியிருக்க —Quilon

The version of the *Kēraḷōḷpatti*⁴ is that the brahman oligarchy which originally ruled Kēraḷa found itself incompetent to discharge its administrative duties satisfactorily owing to internal dissensions, that it tried the rule by 'protectors' or *Rakṣāpuruṣas* (for short terms of three years) elected from the four villages of Panniyūr, Paravūr, Peruṅjellūr and Chenganniyūr, in which had been located the four *kalakams* or electing assemblies representing the 64 *ṇāmans* of Kēraḷa, that finding this expedient also unsatisfactory, it got down Viceroys from adjacent countries to rule over them and afford protection, and that as a check on these selected kings, they finally formed four new assemblies at Irinjalakuda, Mūlikkalam, Paravūr and Ayirānikulam, which were situated near enough to each other, unlike the original four which were so far apart as to impede the expeditious transaction of State business. These four new assemblies had their own meeting places called *taḷis*⁵ (assembly halls) in the capital itself *viz.* Mēṭaḷi (Mūlikkalam), Kīṭaḷi (Ayirānikkalam), Nediyāṭaḷi (Paravūr) and Chingapurattāḷi (Irinjalakudal), which were controlled by their presidents called *taḷiyāḍvīmār*, who were selected celibates from certain influential families. According to the Peruneyil inscription the king

1 *The Trav. State Manual*, Vol I, p 265

2 *Do.* p 266

3 *Malabar Quarterly Review*, Vol VIII, p 123

4. நாண் தன வுப்பரிசைக ளுள கட்டி ஆ நிறுசாளுக்கோ ராஜாவோடுகூடி புவுணி ஆ
கோவிடகத்தில் ஸமீபத்து தன ர கச்சுத்திற் சட்டி ஆ பரிசை ஹரிஜாண் ர ததி-
யு மீற்று. மேலத்தி, கீழ்த்தி, னெகியத்தி, பிசைபுரத்தி, னுத்தியிற் னுள
ரக்கிணுவம் ததியாவிமாம்—

Kēraḷōḷpatti, p 14

5 Compare நாலுதளியும் தளிக்கடுதத கிராமம்—*Epig Ind.*, IV-295.

Kulasēkhara-Kōviladhikāri was at the time seated in the Nediyatali hall (at his capital²), surrounded by (the presidents of) all the four assemblies and (the president of the Tirukkunnappula-(sankētam) or the Edappalli chief (?) and issued an order making certain gifts in favour of the Peruneyil temple. This order was conveyed to the chief residents (*kudipati*) of two villages of Kāpālmangalam and Muttūru by Kāmakkānappalli Rāman-Tāyan and Nārāyanan Nārāyanan of Kadamba-nādu. It may be noted that the *tuliyādiris* of the Nediyatali were selected from Ilandurutti and Kadamba-nādu. Tirukkunnappula seems to be identical with the village of the same name belonging to the Edappalli chief near Karttigaipalli in the Quilon Division. There is also another Nangunnappula² in the island of Vaipin, the famous Subrahmanya temple of which was, before its absorption by the Cochin State, under the management of the Raja of Paravūr and an influential *yōgam* wielding high sacerdotal power.

It is not apparent why the royal writ relating to the Peruneyil temple should have been issued from the Nediyatali Assembly Hall instead of from the Mērali belonging to Mūlikkalam (Mūshikkalam), which may be expected to have exercised its jurisdiction over Peruneyil, on account of its greater proximity, as it has done on such temples as Tiruvānvandūr, Tirukkākkarai and Tirunelli. Nediyatali and Mērali³ occurring in the records of Tirukkākkarai may perhaps have to be taken to refer to these assemblies rather than to any specific villages.

Text.

1	வீதி ஸ்ரீ [1*]	18	ரக்கெணிக கொலல-
2	கொலலநதொ-	19	தது பணைகாவி-
3	னறியிருநா-	20	ன கொயிலகத்தி-
4	புறமுபத-	21	ருநருந ஆரிய-
5	தெட்டாமாண்-	22	ரொடு வந விரொத-
6	டைக் கணனியி-	23	ததினு ப்ராயசுதி-
7	ல விபாழம் புக-	24	தததினு புததன்அ-
8	க [செவன ஞா] யிறு-	25	றையால பதினாழி-
9	ஒன்பது சென-	26	ககொளனும் பறையா-
10	ற நாள இரண்டா-	27	ல் நியதம் ஒரொப-
11	மாண்டைக் கெதி-	28	றைச் செய்து நெல
12	ர பதி [நொரா] மாண்டை-	<i>Second face</i>	
13	[ய இ] ராமா ⁵ திருவ-	29	இராமெச்-
14	டி கொயிலதிகா-	30	சுவரதது
15	ரிகளாயின ஸ்ரீகு-	31
16	லசெகரச சக்கி-	32
17	ரவாததிகள கு-	33	... ஆரி-

1 *Trav State Manual*, Vol. III. p. 598.

2 *Cochin Manual*, p. 373.

3 *Trav Archl Series*, Vol. III. p. 172, 167.

4 Registered as No. 54 of the *Trav. Epig. Collns* for 1095 M. E. (Also No. 53 of 1084).

5 Another reading கொராயா seems possible. Compare also

அஹஸ்தாங்கம் மிகுந்தகரணம் மாயிரகணமணிவாவம்

கௌண்டாங்கம் மனிகமலிவாவிரகணமணிவாவம்.—*Unmunisandēgam*, v. 116.

but this person was nearly two centuries later.

- 34 ய ஸ்ரஹீண-
35 ருங கூடி-
36 யிருநநட-
37 தது . பகக-
38 ல . . .
39 யககங கை-
40 யிலத தி-
41 ருக்கை ந-
42 னைச்சருள
43 நான்கு த-
44 னியு மா-
45 யி[ரம அ]-
46 னுநாற ம-
47 வாகும [இன]-
48 னாடு வாழந-
49 கையான ிக-
50 கிரமனான
51
52 ககன பிழந-
53 லாயுளா
54 சாட்டநரு-
55 ந ி நகயை-
56 கடுழக கூ-
57 டிபி நகந-
58 ந ி நகயை
59 நனைச்ச [ந]-
60 னியானி [1']
61 அச்செரி-
62 ககல காரா-
63 ணமை செ-
64 த வெஹுட-
65 டு குடா
66 னுதையவி-
67 ராமமன

Third face.

- 68 இ . . .
69 . . .
70 ஐநநாழி நொளாந-
71 மிடங்கழியால முப்-
72 பத்தலுகல நெல வி-
73 ராமெசுரந்து மண்ட-
74 பத்தில [கூட்டங]-
75 கூடி யிருநநதில
76 இ[வவாணடு] முதல
77 திரு . . வைககு-
78 ம திருக்கூத நுங
79 கூடிச செ[லவது] [1']

- 80 கிறறடிச்சுவரத-
81 து மெலொடித்தி . .
82 லு செநநெல மு-
83 பபத்தறு கலம-
84 . லிப்படி
85 பதினெண்க கல-
86 ம நெலலால செ-
87 லவிடுவிது [1'] வைச்ச
88 நெல பதினெண்கல-
89 ததால தொளளாயிர-
90 நாழி பலாககாட்டு க-
91 ணணந தெவன செல-
92 விடுவிது [1'] தொளளா-
93 யிரநாழி மெல இவ-
94 லூ (லூ) சத்திபிரம-
95 னு செலவிடுவிது [1]
96 செலவு முட்டிகினறெ
97 மயாலஞஞா-
98 ழி ஆரி தண்டபட்டு
99 செலவிடுவிது [1'] காராள-
100 ர முவருங கூடி செரிக-
101 கல காராளரும திரு-
102 ககுணவாததெவா திருந-
103 டையில கொண்டு அநநாழி-
104 ககு ஒக்கு மிட[ந']கழி
105 நானாறது நாழி நெலாட-
106 டை காராளரு செரிககல கொ-
107 டப்பது [1'] யிவண்ண[ம']மை
108 சச்சமைக்கு கு-
109 ணவாயிரனும யிககடை

Fourth face

- 110 கடமையா-
111 ல
112 தினறும -
113 திச்சு ஒ-
114 கரு
115 -னறுநாழி
116 உரியால
117 . . .
118 யிருநாழி
119 அக்கிரம
120 பதினாழி
121 இப்பெருமா-
122 ள நடை சில-
123 விறகு அவ-
124 மறிமகு நா-
125 முரி கிறற-

126	டி சசுரத்த	139	.
127	மொலொடக-	140	.
128	கு நாழி	141	மிசாநங்-
129	கொத்த-	142	கையாடியார
130	து க . ன்	143	ஆறிகு .
131	ற மங்ங-	144	சசனெழுத்து [1 ^r]
132	லத துரன்	145	அறைஞா ஆசா-
133	யிராயன ¹	146	ரி கையெழுத்
134	கையெழுத்து [1 ^r]	147	து [1 [*]] துருப்பெ-
135	. ன	148	ஞா மறைக-
136	ல	149	க . . கண்டாச்ச-
137	ககருங்	150	ன கையெ-
138	புட	151	முத்து ஸ்ரீ [11 [*]]

No. 14—Quilon record of Kollam 513.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Rāmēśvarasvāmī temple at Quilon. It is in the Tamil language and in the same alphabet of a period somewhat later than Kollam 513 (A. D. 1357-8), in which the record is dated. It states that certain gardens belonging to the temple were redeemed by the temple trustees from the money given by Sattap Marudappillai of Kāyāl and that the trustees agreed to utilise the income from these gardens towards the expenses of providing certain offerings to the god and for lighting a perpetual lamp in the temple on behalf of the donor of the amount

Text ²

- 1 சிறி கொல்லம் ஞாநிந் நாயினா திருவிசுவநாதமுடைய னாயினா [1^r] தெவ-
தானம் பண்டாரத்தார தகைவாய் கிடந்து விடிவித்துக் கொண்ட வ-
- 2 யிராவணா தொடம(ம்) அறைக்கல் புரையிடம் வயலிற் புரையிடம் ஆக
மூன்று புரையிடத்துக்கும் எல்லையாவது [1^r] கிழைவலை முனைநகட-
- 3 வத்துக்குப் பொகிற வழிகு மெற்கு தென்னெல்லை சிறைக்கு வடக்கு வ-
மெல்லெல் வாளத்தையார குடியிருப்புகு கிழக்கு வடவெல்லை
- 4 மருமாணடிக்கு பொராக³ நாராயப்பெருவழிகு தெற்கும் ஆக இந்ந நா-
ங்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட நிலத்துக்கு காயலில் சாததன மருதப்பிள்ளை
- 5 கொண்டு பண்ட [1^r] ரத்தார சாதனவாங்கி பலஇறைகளு மாற்றி இவர்
பக்கல் அச்சு பற்றி குடுத்து இறங்கல் மிடகையில் இவற்கு ஆக இரு-
நாழி அளி-
- 6 சி அமுது படியும் ஒரு திருவிளக்கும் இடுவொமாகவும் [11¹] உருபிடத்தில
மெலபடை நாலும் காயலி [1^r] சாததன நாயனா [மு]மமநாஸ் [11^{*}]

1 See foot note 5 on page 44 above

2 Registered as No 54 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1984 M 1

3 Read பொகிற

Translation

The auspicious Kollam (year) 513.

The boundaries of the three plots (called) Vayirāvanan-tōttam, Arakkal-purayidam, and Vavaln-purayidam which were redeemed by the temple trustees are the following —

the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the path leading to Munangadavam, the southern boundary (is) to the north of the tank, the western boundary (is) to the east of the habitation of the *vāltadānyar*, and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the big lane leading to Marudāndi

For the lands lying between these four boundaries, the trustees took money from Śāttan Marudapillai of Kāyahl, executed the document, exempted the plots from taxes, redeemed them from *irangal* and agreed to give on his behalf two measures of rice to the temple for offerings and to light a sacred lamp in it.

The four upper courses in the *urupītham* are by Śāttan Nayanār Mumman of Kāyahl.

No. 15.—Quilon inscription of Kollam 516.

This record is engraved on the lintel of the stone doorway in front of the Rāmēśvarasvamin temple at Quilon. It is in Tamil and is dated in Kollam 516, three years later than the one published above. It states that the door-frame and steps of the gateway (in stone) were the gift of Mayilan Tu uvōttajāman-alagiyār, the headman of Navalūr in Angamangalan *alias* Vīrapāndya-mangai-mānagaram, in Kudai-nadu.

Kudai-nadu is perhaps identical with Kuda-nāḍu of literature, which is mentioned as one of the twelve divisions where vulgar Tamil (*koduntamiḷ*) was spoken as opposed to the purer variety (*sendamiḷ*) which was current in and around Madura, the seat of the Tamil Academy. The modern equivalent of Kudanāḍu is the northern portion of Malabar comprising Coorg etc. The name of the donor is somewhat peculiar and was perhaps coined from the name of god Śiva 'who was beautiful at the time of the midnight worship'. *Kilayan* means 'the headman of the village (*urimai-yudaiyavan*)', the suffix *kilamai* in the week-days also signifying that the particular planets were the lords of those days which went by their respective names.

Text.

- 1 கிலையி ஸீ [] ஸீ நாலம் நாயன் மாணடு சித்திரைமாதம் இத கிருவாதில
கிலையி-
- 2 சீதம மலாடு புனாடு செநதமிழ் சே
[கிலையி]

1 கிலையி ஸீ [] ஸீ நாலம் நாயன் மாணடு சித்திரைமாதம் இத கிருவாதில
கிலையி-

2 In a Chola-period record of Kollam 519, occurs the following
சீதம மலாடு புனாடு செநதமிழ் சே
[கிலையி]

- 3 மானகரத்த நாவலூர் கிழவன் மயிலன் திருவொத்தசாமமழகியார்
4 செய்தத திருப்பணி உ ஸாஹஸ்ரீ உ

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Chittirai in the Kollam year 516, the door-jambs and steps of this gateway are the charitable work of Mayilan Tiruvōttajāmam-aḷagiyār, the headman of Nāvalūr in Angamaṅgalam *alias* Vīrapāṇ-diyamangai-māṇagaram, in Kudai-nādu.

Tiruvelunnannur Records.

The Trivandrum Museum contains a set of copper plates, the thirty-eight leaves of which are beaten thin like ola leaves and are strung together through two holes and are kept between two thicker metal plates, looking quite like an ordinary cadjan manuscript bundle. The records incised on these thin leaves relate to the accounts of the temple of Tiruvelunnannūr and range in date from the year Kollam 600 to Kollam 900. It looks as if they were engraved on copper from older *olai* documents without any arrangement in chronological sequence, the only object that was presumably aimed at being an attempt to ensure greater permanency to the temple transactions. The language and script of the records is Malayalam, as may naturally be expected in regard to documents that were consolidated only a couple of centuries ago during the tenure of office of a certain Kannaṇ-Kannaṇ of Mannūr as the *poduvāl* of the temple assembly, the only noteworthy point being the use of declensional endings such as *ān*, *ār* in some cases like *koḍuttān* and *koḍuttār*, unlike modern Malayalam, which completely discards them.

Of the many separate transactions that have thus been brought together and which number more than fifty, only half a dozen are of some slight importance as they mention two royal names, *viz.*, Vīra Kōḍaivarman of the Ilaiyidattusvarūpam who figures in two of the records, while two other documents mention a Vīrakērala-Rāmaivarman of Kīlappērūr. The Ilaiyidattu-svarūpam was the name of one among those small chieftancies called Vadakkumkūru, Tekkumkūru, Pandaḷam, Ilaiyadam, Quilon, Ambalapula, Edappalli etc. which flourished in detached independent units all over Vēnādu until the time of the Travancore king Mārttaṇḍavarman, the Great (Kollam 904-933), who by dint of his successful wars and diplomacy either conquered these principalities or managed to annex them to his dominions and thus consolidated the Travancore State to its present proportions. Before the annexation of their territory to Travancore in Kollam 916, the Ilaiyadam family held sway over the tract represented by the modern taluks of Śheñcōtta, Vāliyūr, Kottārakara, Pattanāpuram and Nedumaṅgād;¹ and Vīra-Kōḍaivarman of the Tiruvelunnannūr records must have been a Kottārakara chief who reigned at least from Kollam 711 to 715. The two records attributed to his reign

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol I, p. 340-1.

The other two records referring themselves to the reign of a king called Virākēra-la-Rāmavaṃman of Kīlappērūr are dated in the Kollam years 663 and 793 respectively, and it therefore leads to the presumption that as these records are separated by an interval of 130 years, the kings figuring in them, though of the same name, may be two different individuals. But from the fact that the day and month of both these documents is the same (Kumbham 8) and also because one of them containing the date 663 is somewhat peculiarly worded without a specific prefixion of the Kollam era, *viz*,

‘വിരുദ്ധമെന്നതിൽ ഏതാകർഷണ ന്യായമുണ്ട്. മറ്റൊരു കാര്യമായും വ്യക്തമാക്കുന്നു’

Taking then Kollam 793 as the date of the two records, it is found that no Vēnādu king called Vīra-Kērala Rāmavarman is known to have lived at about this time. Vīrakērala Rāmavarman will ordinarily signify king Rāmavarman, the nephew of a predecessor called Vīra-Kēralavarman, and so far as we know at present, Vīra-Kēralavarman was followed by a king named Rāmavarman in the following instances only:—

- (i) ²Vīra-Kēraḷa Mārṭṭāṇḍavarman of Kollam 610 was succeeded by a Rāma Mārṭṭāṇḍavarman whose record is dated in Kollam 614,
- (ii) ³Veṇṇumankōṇḍa Bhūṭalavīra Vīra-Kēraḷavarman of Kollam 720 had a contemporary or successor called Veṇṇumankōṇḍa Bhūṭalavīra Rānavarman in about Kollam 722
- (iii) ⁴Uṇṇi Kēraḷavarman (Kollam 893-99) was followed by his brother Rānavarman (Kollam 899-903)

but none of these ^{intervals} periods corresponds with either Kollam 663 or 793 of the two records noted above.

From the fact that the Tiruvelunnannūr set does not mention any Vēnādu kings but only a Vīra-Kōḍavarman of the Ilayadattu-svarūpam, it is not improbable that, if the date in the record is assumed to have been correctly given as

1 *Trav. Archéol. Series*, Vol. II, p 78

2 *Trav State Manual*, Vol I, p 266 and No 1 of 1084

3 *Ibid.*, Vol IV, p 104

4 *Trav State Manual*, Vol. I, p 327

Kollam 793, the Vīra-Kēraḷa Rāmavarman of these records also may have been a local chieftain and not a Vēnāḍu king, even though his name was connected with the house of Kīlappērūr and has not been specifically mentioned with other distinguishing epithets

Some of the records included in the bundle give the names of the following varieties of documents:—

1. karpūravila-ōla,
2. tōrana-taragu-vila-ōla,
3. dāna-ōla,
4. paḍukala-ōla,
5. naḍamāḍu-paḍukala-ōla,
6. prāśchitta-ōla,
7. orṟi-ōla,
8. nēorṟi-ōla,
9. amiśavila-ōla,
10. kadavāyppa-ōla or muṟi,

whose names are derivable from the special nature of or purposes for which those transactions were made. The records now published belong to the first two classes

Karpūra-vila-ōla is a document relating to *karpūravila* or price of camphor; but it is not definite if this income represented any seigniorage on the sale or export and import of camphor. It occurs in the nature of a tax in an inscription¹ of Rājārāja I at Pañchapāṇḍavamalai ‘கற்பூரவிலையும் ஒழிஞ்சு சரசு எனச்செய்தபடி. It is understood from a Kākatīya record² found at Mōttuppalli in the Guntur district, that camphor, both country-made and imported from foreign countries (like China), was treated as dutiable commodity and that a tax of 15/16 *panam* was levied on a pagoda's worth of that article in the time of Ganapatidēva in the 13th century. In the present case, it appears possible that some provision was made in the shape of lands to meet the expenses of supplying camphor for the daily temple worship and that the lessees of the particular lands set apart for this item of supply bound themselves to measure out the stipulated quantity of paddy as *karpūravila-nellu* for the purchase and supply of the indispensable camphor to the temples. The following extract from a record belonging to the same temple at Tiruvelunnannūr will make this clear:

‘നെല്ലിപ്പറമ്പിൽ ഇന്നാർപേരിൽനിന്നു നെല്ലിപറമ്പിൽ തേചത്തിന്നു കപ്പൂരവി
ല കല്പിച്ചു ചെമ്പു കെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും കപ്പൂരവില നെല്ലു ൫ ൭ ചൈതാക’ and
‘കണ്ണങ്ങോട്ടു തേചത്തിന്നു വാളെങ്കോട്ടു ഇന്നാർപേരിൽനിന്നു കപ്പൂരവില കല്പി
ച്ചു ആണ്ടുവരവും ചെമ്പുകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവേണ്ടും കപ്പൂരവില നെല്ലു ൫ ൭ ചൈതാക’

These documents are classified as *Karpūravila* in the margin of the copper leaves.

1, *Epy India*, Vol IV, p. 138.

2, *Ibid*, Vol XII, p. 197, ‘कर्पूरमुनकू चीनकर्पूरानकु मुत्तालकू वेल् ग १ कि ९ ॥’

Tōrana-taragu-vila-ōla— *Tōrana* is the '*tōrana-vilakku*' (the arch of lamps) or the '*dīpamālā*' (the garland of lamps) that is put up in front of the entrance to temples and *taragu* is a document or lease, so that the full term signifies a deed assigning some lands on *vilakku-pāttam* tenure to an individual who was required in exchange therefor to maintain the arch of lamps lighted daily or on festive occasions according to the terms of his agreement. From the way in which the word has been used in another record, *tōrana* seems to have connoted also the land intended for this item of service.

തീരവെളുന്നന്നൂർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പന്ന തോരണം വച്ചുകൊള്ളുമാറും കല്പിച്ചു
തോരണത്തരകും എഴുതി കൊടുത്താൻ . ഇത്തോരണത്തിന്നു എളുക തോര
ണത്തിനകത്തു ഒള്ളു മക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു ആവണിസംക്രാന്തിവിളക്കിന്നും വിച്ചുവിളക്കി
ന്നും തിരിയും കൂട

It may be noted that *Tōranattōttam* was the name of a garden in the Kottayam plates of Sthānu-ravi, where the particular garden may have been assigned for such specific service. A contribution called *tōrana-lānikkai* occurs in Tamil records. In the Vellāmi inscription of Vīra-Rāmavarman the limits of the land that was endowed to the temple were marked off at their four corners by the erection of *tōranas*, which seem to signify not ornamental archways but stone posts or pillars as boundary stones. This practice of demarcating temple property was common also in the Tamil districts, where stone slabs bearing the representations respectively of the trident (*tiruchchūlattūpanam-śeydu*) and the discus (*tiruvālikkal nāttu*) were used in respect of Śiva and Vishnu temples.

The word *tavayāriyar* has undergone some change from Sanskrit on adaptation to the vernacular. *Tavai* is derived from the Sanskrit word *sabhā* by the usual substitution of *ta* for *sa* in Malayalam, and the equally common change of *bhā* into *pai* or *vai* (cf. Tam. *avai*); while the word *āriyar* is the Sanskrit *ārya* 'a respectable man'. *Tāvayāriyar* may therefore be considered as synonymous with the '*sabhai-perumakkal*' or 'the great men of the assembly' of other records.

The proper names occurring in the records are —

Tiruveḷunnamūr	is Velmallūr in the Kottarakara taluk
Ādichchanallūr	is in the Quilon taluk
Karakūḷam	is in the Nedumangad taluk
Muttakkāyal	is probably Muttakkāvu in the Quilon taluk
Kīlappērūr	is in the Chirayinkil taluk
Ilāṅgūlam	is perhaps the village in the Quilon taluk
Peruṅgūlam	is in the Kottarakara taluk
Umayallūr	is probably Umayanallūr in the Quilon taluk
Kunnuminēl	the Kīlmanur chief was known as 'Kunnummēl Rājā.'
Kārimarugu	
Karivīḷa	
Karakkāḍu	Karikkōdu is in the Quilon taluk
Tōttaman	

No. 16—Record of Vira Kodaivarman of Kollam 711.

Text.¹

- 1 കൊല്ലം ഐശ്വര്യമാണ്ടു മേടമാസം ൪ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു
 ൨) ഞ്ഞലയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുവാക്കു തവയാരിയെർ തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക്കു ഇരുന്നരുളു ക്കൽ
 3) ചിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്കു [1^k] കാരിമരുകു ചീവിതത്തിൽ ഇളംകുളംതൊല
 4) തു ചെരുവെരുംകു—
 5) ഉത്തു കുന്നമ്മൽ ഇളയടത്തു ശ്രീവീരകോതവെമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊ
 6) കിക്കന്മിക്കെറക്കു കള നാലതൊട്ടിനാകും ഉള്ളിട്ട തടി പലവിനാൽ നിലം
 7) ൪൫൦ വിത്തുപ്പാടും ഇതിന്നു ഇ—
 8) രുക്കരെയും ചരിഞ്ഞ കരപ്പുരടങ്ങളും കരക്കാടും തൊട്ടമണ്ണം കരക്കുടിവ
 9) റിയെയും കൂടി തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലയപ്പെന്നു ഉഷവൃജവകെക്ക
 10) കൽപ്പിച്ചു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ—
 11) ൪ എണ്ടലയപ്പെൻ തിരുനടയിൽ എഴുതിവച്ചു കൊടുത്താർ ശ്രീവീര
 12) കോതവെമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മിക്കെറ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എ
 13) ഞ്ഞലയപ്പെന്നു ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [11^k]

Translation.

On the 4th day of the month of Mēdam in the Kollam year 711, the *tavayārīyar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruveḷunnennūr in the presence of god Endalayappan wrote up the following account:

The following lands in Cheruperungulam of Ilangulam-dēsam in Kāri-marugu-jīvitam belonging to the subordinates of śrī Vīra-Kōḍavarman-Tiruvāḍi of Kuunummēl-Ilayyādam, namely—

the lands comprising many *tadū* (in extent) and having a sowing capacity of 45 *para* of paddy seed inclusive of the arable lands, the compound sites on the slopes, Karakkādu, Tōttaman and also the tenants, were provided for the expenses of the early morning *pūja* of the god Endalayappan of Tiruveḷunnannūr and the subordinates of śrī Vīra-Kōḍavarman gave this in writing in this manner to the god Endalayappan at Tiruveḷunnannūr

No. 17—Record of the Kodaivarman of Kollam 715.

Text.²

- 1 ഐശ്വര്യമാണ്ടു മിതുനമാസം ൪൯ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാ
 2) തിൽമാടത്തിൻകൽ എണ്ടലയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുവാക്കു തവയാരിയെർ
 3) തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക്കു ഇ—
 4) രുക്കരളു കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണക്കു [1:] ആതിച്ചനെല്ലുർ മുതൽനാട്ടിൽ
 5) കരകളും തൊലത്തിന്നു കുന്നമ്മൽ ഇളയടത്തു ശ്രീവീരകോതവെമ്മർ
 6) തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മിക്കെറക്കു

1 Registered as No. 3 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

2 Registered as No. 4 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

- 3 ഒള്ള കരക്കളം ഉള്ളിട്ട വയെൽത്തൊട്ടിന്നും കരപ്പുരയെങ്ങരക്കും കൂട തിരു
വെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്റെ തൊരണം വച്ചി രക്ഷിക്കമാറു കൽ
പ്പിച്ചു തൊരണത്തരക വി-
- 4 ലെയൊലെയും എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താർ ചെയിക്കുമിറെ ര തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ
എണ്ടലെയപ്പെന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ ഇന്നിലങ്ങരക്കും പുരയെങ്ങരക്കും കൂട
ആണ്ടുവരയും ചൊപുകെട്ടി
- 5 ഇടങ്ങിറാൽ തന്ന പൊരുമാറ കൽപ്പിച്ചു കർപ്പുറവില നെല്ലു ൭൭ ൫൫
ചൊതാക [11¹]

Translation.

On the 4th day of the month of Mithunam in the (Kollam) year 715, the *tuvaṇṇāryar* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruvelunnamūr in the presence of the god Endalayappan, wrote the following account —

The lands in Karakulam-ṭṭsam in the Mudal-naḍu of Ādiccheanallūr belonging to the subordinates of (the chief) Śrī Vira-Kōḍavarmān-Tiruvadi of Kunnumēl-Naiyadam, namely

the lands of Karakkulam inclusive of the fields, gardens and compound sites, were provided for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōṇam*) to the god Endalayappan of Tiruvelunnamūr and a deed (*tōranatai aṇuvula-ṇōla*) was drawn up and given by the servants (*kōyilkanm*) to the god of the temple

The quantity that was agreed to be measured annually by the *sembukatti-ḍaṇṇaḷ* (copper-measure of the temple) from those lands was 7 *para* and 5 *ḍaṇṇaḷ* of good paddy as *kappiṇa-ṇōla*

No. 18.—Record of Vira Kerala-Ramavarman.

Text ¹

- 1 തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ പട്ടാരകെക്കു ന്നാനുമിരു മാണ്ടു കുപത്തായറ ച ചെന്ന
നാരം ആതിച്ചനെല്ലർ മുതൽനാട്ടിൽ കുരിവിളെ ഒരശത്തിന്നു കീഴപ്പെ-
- 2 രൂർ ശ്രീ.പിര , കരളരാ വമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമെന്ത കൊയിക്കുമിറക്ക ഒള്ള ക
രിവിളെയും മെൽചണ്ണ ഉള്ളിട്ട വയെൽത്തൊമ്മിന്നും കരപ്പുര-
- 3 പൊന്നും കരപ്പുരയെങ്ങരക്കും കൂടെ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെ
ന്റെ തൊരണം വച്ചു രക്ഷിക്കമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ചിത ഇതിന്നു എളുക്ക കിഴക്കു
- 4 കരക്കളത്തിന്നും പെടാതതു വാക്കു കടലൊത്തൊരണത്തിന്നു പെടാതതു പവി
ത്തായിര ചെന്നെൻ പൊരക്ക പെടാതതു വാക്കു കുരിവിളെ എണ്ടലൈ-
- 5 യപ്പെൻകാവിന്നും പെടാതതു ഇന്നാൽ എളുകെക്കകത്ത അകപ്പെട്ട ഉൽപ
ത്തിക്കു ആണ്ടുവരവും ചൊപുകെട്ടിയ ൭ യാൻ തന്ന പൊരിമാറു കൽപ്പി-
- 6 ചു കർപ്പുരവില നെല്ലു ൭൭ ൫൫ ചൊതാക ശ്രീ [11²]

1 Registered as No. 5 of the Trav. Epig. Colln for 1098 M. S.

Translation.

In the 663rd year of the god Bhattāiaka of Tiruvelunnannūr when 8 days of Kumbha had expired, the following lands belonging to the subordinates of king Śrī Vira-Kērala-Rāmavarman-Tiruvadi of Kilappērur, namely

Karivile, Mēlman inclusive of fields, arable lands and compound sites were given for the maintenance of a *tōrana* (an arch of lamps) to god Endalayappan in Tiruvelunnannūr

The boundaries of these lands are (the following):

in the east, up to Karakulam,

in the south, up to the lands called the Kadelā-tōrana,

in the west, up to Mannenchirai, and

in the north, up to Endalayappān-kāvu in Karivile.

From the produce from the lands lying between these four boundaries the annual rent which was to be measured by the *śembukattiya-para* (copper *para* of the temple) as *kaiṭṭūravila-nellu* was fixed at 7 *para* and 5 *idangal* of good paddy. Prosperity!

No. 19.—Record of Vira Kerala-Ramavarman of Kollam 793.

Text.¹

- 1 19 ന്നാൾ ചാണ്ടി കവഞ്ഞായെ ച ചെന്ന നാൾ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മുക്കാൽ വട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാടത്തിങ്കൽ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ തിരുമുവാക്കെ തവെയാരിയെർ തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക ഇരുന്ന -
- 2 രജിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ കണ്ടു [1*] മുട്ടുകായിൽ തെചത്തു മെൽപ്പടി എലായിൽ കീഴുപ്പെരൂർ സ്ത്രീവീരകെരള രാമവെമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊയിക്കന്മികെറക്കു ഒളള തടി പലവിനാൽ
- 3 നിലം ൪൧൫൭ വിത്തുപാടും കൂട തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ ഉഷപുജെക്കു വകയായിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു കൊടുത്താർ സ്ത്രീവീരകെരളരാമവെമ്മർ തിരുവടിക്കുമന്ത കൊയിക -
- 4 ന്നുകെറ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ ഇമ്മാക്കുമെ [1*] ഇന്നിലത്തിന്നു എളുക കീഴുക മുന്നിക്കളത്തിന്റെ ചരവിന്നു പടിഞ്ഞായെറ തെക്കു ഉമെയെല്ലർ തെവെരെടെ ചാനിനി -
- 5 ലത്തിന്നു വടക്കു പടിഞ്ഞായെറ ഇലഞ്ഞിക്കെൽക്കു കീഴുകു വടക്കു ഇടത്തുരുത്തുവരംപിന്നു തെക്കു ഇന്നാലു എളുകെക്കത്ത അകപ്പെട്ട തടി പലവിനാൽ നിലം ൪൧൫൭ - ഉഷപു -
- 6 ജെക്കു വകയായിക്കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാർ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടലെയപ്പെൻ കൊയിക്കന്മികളൊം ഇമ്മാക്കുമെ [11*]

¹ Registered as No 6 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1098 M E

² A symbol of Kollam has been engraved at the end of the plate previous to this and it has to be prefixed to the year 793 of this record

Translation.

On the 8th day expired of the Kumbha month of the Kollam year 793, the *tavaiyāriya* met in a boby in the entrance-hall of the temple of Tiruvelunnannūr in presence of god Endalayappan and wrote the following account after deliberation -

The subordinates of Vīṇa-Kēṇāla Rāmavarman-Tiruvadi of Kīlappērū gave lands many *tadū* (in extent) and having the sowing capacity of 45 *para* of seed in Muttakkāyil-ēṭāy in the same *dēśam* for the early morning worship of god Endalayappan at Tiruvelunnannūr

The boundaries of this land are —

the east (limit) is to the west of the Mūṇṇikkulam tank,

the south (limit) is to the north of the land belonging to the *sānti* (priest) of the god at Umayallū,

the west (limit) is to the east of Ilāṇjikkal, and

the north (limit) is to the south of Idatturuttu-parambu

The temple officials of god Endalayappan at Tiruvelunnannūr had this land lying between these four boundaries and (having a sowing capacity) of 45 *para* entered (in the account), for (the expenses of) the early morning worship of the god

No. 20 — A record dated in Kollam 878.

The subjoined record dated in Kollam 878 has no special importance attached to it except that it shows how a case of assault on the person of certain temple servants (*pillar*) was adjudged two centuries ago, how some compensation in cash for the outrage was demanded from the assailant a certain Śankaran-Kandan of Idamanā, probably a temple official, and how some landed property was accepted in exchange, the annual rent from which was credited to the temple revenues

It is noteworthy that the expiation or *prāyaścitta* for untoward happenings generally took the form of some penitent charity to the local temple and that the aggrieved party did not come in for a share of the amount of compensation. Although there may be some justification for appropriating the amount to the temple in this particular instance, where the penalty demanded was for the ill-treatment of some temple servants; in many other cases also, where individuals quite unconnected with temples received injury culminating even in man-slaughter, the accused were let off cheaply with the apparently light punishment of having to burn perpetual lamps in temples. The purely accidental and entirely unintentional nature of the offences was of course taken into account to temper the severity of the criminal law of those times, but it is not understood why the injured parties or their survivors were not granted any portion of the levied penalty, as would have been reasonable and even equitable to expect. Lighting of lamps in temples had perhaps its own moral value for both the parties, but the more practical aspect of utilising a portion of the fines towards making amends to the affected party may have been given some consideration. It is not impossible that this was also attended to in

addition to the purely religious expiation provided for in many of the temple records noticed in the *Madras Epigraphical Reports*, though it did not find specific mention in records relating to the temple gifts. The *State Manual*² quotes an instance from the chronicles of the Padmanābhasvāmin temple wherein Śrī Vīra-kēṇalavarinaṁ (Kollam 520) is stated to have made a gift of some lands to the survivors of certain Deśi-brahmans at Nilamēlkkunnu, who had been done to death at his instigation.

The fiscal term *adukkuvadū* is explained by Gundert as 'the right retained by the proprietor from the purchaser'. It was a fee generally varying from 10 to 20% of the *kānam* consideration, which a *kānamdār* had to pay to the *jenmu* or landed proprietor for renewing a *kānappāttam* lease'. It also represented the small fee of 10 *panam* due from the heir on his succession to the *virutti*-holding and which had to be paid to the Sirkar for the grant of the royal *nīttu* or commission.

In this record Saṅkaran-Kandan of Idamana who had to pay 240 *panam* for the *prāyaschittam*-penalty supplemented it by an additional 20%, i.e., 48 *panam*, and in exchange thereto set apart two bits of land each of one *para* sowing capacity and promised to measure out annually $7\frac{1}{2}$ *para* of paddy to the temple from the 8 *para* of annual rent derivable from the lands in question. The *adukkuvadū* fee was for the renewal of the *pāttam*, which the original proprietor of the lands had now to pay to the present owner (the temple), in his new capacity of a tenant-lessee. The advantage that he secured by the additional percentage of penalty was that he enjoyed the lands without the fear of eviction, so long as he paid the temple its share of paddy (*pāttanel*) on these lands.

Text.³

- 1 "അപ്രകാരം മാണ്ട ഇടവമാസം ഒ ചെന്ന വിയാഴാഴ്ചയും രൊഹിണിയും പൂർവ്വപക്ഷത്തു തൃതിയയും ഇന്നാളാൽ തിരുവെളുന്നെ.
- 2 നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽപ്പാടത്തിങ്ങൽ തവെയാരിയെർ തിരുക്കുട്ടമാക ഇരുന്നരുള കൽപ്പിച്ച എഴുതിയ പ്രാച്ചിത്ത യൊല കരണമാവിതു[1] തിരുവെളുന്നെന്നൂർ പ-
- 3 ട്രാക്കെരെടെ പിള്ളരെ ഇടമനെ ചംകരൻ കണ്ടെൻ വെലൻ ചൈതതിന്ന പ്രാച്ചിത്തം ചെയ്യുമാറ കൽപ്പിച്ച രാമിപണം പാശയം അടുക്കവതു രാശി
- 4 പണം പാശയ കൂട രാശിപണം ചാച്ചയെ നും ചംകരൻ കണ്ടെൻ തനിക്ക പടിഞ്ഞായിറു ചിറവൂർക്കേലിൽ വെളുന്നെന്നൂർ തെച്ചത്തു കാളവയെ ലിൽ എറ-

1 Madras Epig. Report for 1918, and *Hist. Sketches of Ancient Dehkan*, p. 327

2 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 264

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 318

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 336

5 Registered as No. 7 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. S.

6 The word Kollam expressed by a symbol is found engraved on the leaf previous to this and has to be prefixed to the year 878 of this record

- 5 യിൽ പുന്നിരിട്ടിറേയിൽകല്ലൊളള കണ്ടെത്തി മ നാൽ നിലം ൧൭൦ അ
തിന്നു കിഴക്കു ആട്ടറക്കണ്ടത്തിന്നു കിഴക്കുത്ത വട്ടക്കണ്ടം തടി ൧ നാൽ നിലം ൧൭൦ കൂട നി
- 6 ലം ൨൭൦ പ്രാച്ചിത്തമാക എഴുതിവെച്ചു തന്ന ആണ്ടൊന്നിന്നു വരവെണ്ടും
പാട്ടനെൽ ൮൭൦ ഇ ചണം ചാച്ചമെ എന്നും ആണ്ടുവരവും തിരുവെളുന്നെ
ന്നൂർ പട്ട-
- 7 കാരകെരരെ ചെംപകെട്ടിയാൽ വരവെണ്ടും ഉപെയനെൽ ൭൭ ൪൪ ഇ
നെൽ ൭൭ ൪൪ യം പ്രാച്ചിത്തമാക എഴുതികൊടുത്താൻ ചംകരൻ ക
ണ്ടെൻ തി-
- 8 അവെളുന്നെന്നൂർ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു തവെട്ടാതുവാൾ മണ്ണൂർ കുന്നൻ കുന്നന്നു
ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [11]

Translation.

On the 7th day of the month of Idavam of Kollam year 878 corresponding to a Thursday with Rohinī-nakshatra and tritīyā-tithi of the first fortnight, the *tavayārīyār* having met in a body in the entrance-hall of the temple at Tiruvelunnannūr wrote this *prūchikkittayōlu* (document relating to expiation)

The compensation which Śankaran-Kandan of Idamana was directed to render for having assaulted (*balamsēy*) the servants of the god at Tiruvelunnannūr was 240 *rāsi-panam*, which together with 48 *rāsi-panam* for *adukkuvadu* amounted to 288 *panam*

For this amount Śankaran-Kandan gave the following lands belonging to him, namely,

one *tadi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *para* (of paddy) in Pumiṛattirakkal of Velunnannūr-dēsam in Padinjāyaru-Chiravūrkkal and one *tadi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *para* (of paddy) situated near Āttarakandan to the east of the above;

in all, land (having the sowing capacity) of 2 *para* (of paddy seed) and from the annual rent of 8 *para* of paddy derivable from these lands he agreed for the amount of 288 *panam* to provide 7 *para* and 5 *ilangal* of paddy to the temple, as measured by the *Sembukatti* (measure) of the god at Tiruvelunnannūr to Kunnan-Kunnan of Mannūr,¹ the *tavappoduval* of the same temple

No. 21--A record dated in Kollam 878.

Text.²

First side

- 1 ചാച്ചമെ മാണ്ട ഇടവമാസം മന്നു ചെന്ന ചനിയാഴ്ചയും അത്തവും ചൂച്ച
പക്ഷത്തു ഏറാടെരിയും അന്ന അസ്സമിച്ചു ധനുരാമി കൊണ്ട ഇടമെ

1 Kunnan-Kunnan of Mannūr figures in records dated in years so far apart as Kollam 710 and Kollam 878 and he could not therefore have been contemporaneous with the records themselves. It was during his time as *puduvāl* of the temple that many of the temple lease deeds seem to have been rewritten in his name. The word '*immārgam*' at the end of each document shows that all the records were strung together in a collected form at that time.

2 Registered as No. 8 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. E.

- 12 ഉന്നെന്നൻ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു യോഗം തിരുത്തു¹ ഇരുന്ന് എഴുതിയ സാക്ഷി-
ക്കറിയാവിതു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്നൻ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു പട്ടിരിപ്പാൻ അവ-
കാശമാകുന്ന സ-
- 13 സാക്ഷിമാണവും പററിക്കൊണ്ടു സാക്ഷിക്കറിയും എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താൻ തിരു-
വെളുന്നെന്നൻ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു തവപ്പൊതുവാൾ മണ്ണർ കന്നൻ ക-
ന്നൻ പൊതുവാൾ
- 14 കരംവണ്ണ കൽപ്പിച്ച താന അനുഭവ അവകാശം കൊടുത്തു . . .
ഇമ്മാക്കമെ.

No. 22—A record dated in Kollam 839.

This document dated in Kollam 839 (=A D 1684) is of some judicial interest in that it contains information as to how the *samudāyam* or the temple assembly of Tiruvelunnamūr disposed of a case where an individual of the fisherman caste (*mukkuran*) was guilty of theft from a Muhammadan's house and how the case was adjudged by the assembly and the offender brought to book by the confiscation of some of his property to the temple.

The accused was to have been arrested for the imposition perhaps of some monetary or other fines; but as he tried to evade the law by going in hiding, his property situated within the *dēsam* was confiscated, his documents were secured, and the pepper and other household chattel were properly appraised and the value recovered from him. The *ālai* records relating to his transactions outside the *dēsam* were also kept in the custody of the temple.

It is interesting to note that the Muhammadan is called Kuñju-Pāvaṭi⁽¹⁾ Kuñju being a pettish surname common in Malabar

Text.²

- 1 തിരുവെളുന്നെന്നൻ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു കഞ്ചുപാവവിയെന്ന തുല്യക്കൈകത്തു
പുക പട്ട മുക്കവെനെ തമുതായത്തിൽ നിന്നു തടുത്താ -
- 2 റെ അവൻ ഒളിച്ചുപായ ചെപ്പം അവന്റെ വസ്തുവക്കൊണ്ടു ചൊന്നാ
റെ അവനെപ്പിടിച്ച് തമുതായത്തിലേക്കു കൊടുത്തതിന്റെ ചെപ്പം അ
വന്റെ
- 3 വസ്തുവ ആയിട്ടൊള്ളതിൽ ദേശത്തിന്നു അകത്തു ഒള്ള വസ്തുവും കടവായിപ്പു
മുറികെളും ദൈവനു കൊടുത്തശേഷം അവന്റെ വീട്ടിയിന്നു കൊണ്ടു
ചൊയ മുളകി-

1 The same expression has been used in the *Keralolppatti* and means that the Yōgam members met in full numbers in the Tiruvelunnamūr temple.

2 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1098 M. P.

4. നാം പാതൃത്തിനും മറ്റും പലവകയായിട്ടു കള്ളതു എപ്പെർപ്പെട്ടതിനും കൂട്ടപറഞ്ഞു വീർന്നു അതിന്റെ അത്തവും പററിക്കൊണ്ടു ദേശത്തിന്നു പുറത്തുള്ള കടവായിപ്പു ഓചെ-
 5. കളം വൈപ്പിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു നീട്ടം കൊടുത്തിതു ചുമന്നുൻ മാണ്ടു കന്നിയാ യെര മൂന്നു കൽപ്പിച്ചുമെക്കു വെളുന്നെന്തു സമുതായത്തിലെവ ഷം ജനത്തിലെവക്കം കൂടി നീ-
 6. ഒട്ടുതി വിടുകെന്നു തിരുവിള്ളമായ നീട്ടു[11]

Translation.

The assembly (*samudāyam*) of the temple at Tiruvelunnannūr apprehended a fisherman, who had committed theft, entering the house of a Muhammadan called Kunju-Pāvadi, but when he concealed himself, his belongings were distrained (by the assembly). When later, he was caught and handed over to the assembly, such of his property as were within the *dēsam* and other documents relating to loans (*ladarāyppumuri*) were confiscated to the god (*dēvan*). The pepper and other household chattel which had been taken away were appraised and their value was recovered and the documents relating to his transactions outside (the jurisdiction) of the *dēsam* were also kept as deposit.

The above order was issued on the 26th day of the Kanni month of the (Kollam) year 839, and it was also ordered that a copy of this was to be communicated to all the members of the *samudāyam* and *mahājanam* of Velunnannūr.

No. 23—A record of Kollam 240 ?

The subjoined record belonging to the same set is dated in Kollam 240 and the other astronomical details of the date are Mina 12, Wednesday, Makayiram-nakshatra, and pañcham-tithi, but the language and the subject matter of the deed do not justify such an early date for it.

It registers the grant of some lands by two individuals named Kandan-Kandan and Manivan-Kandan of Chiravūrkkal for the maintenance of a *tōraṇa* in the temple at Tiruvelunnannūr. The script in which the record is engraved is Malayalam, while the language which is also characterised by its Malayalam endings is of the prolix documentary style, consisting of

- (i) a preamble, as to when, how and where the transaction was made,
- (ii) the stipulation made by the donors that their gift should be utilised for the *tōraṇa*,
- (iii) the counter-agreement given by the temple that the gift will be properly set apart for its specific purpose,
- (iv) details of the boundaries of the land in question,
- (v) certain regulations in regard to the land.

(vi) the number of and occasions during which the lights were to be maintained in the temple, and

(vii) the signatures of the individuals witnessing the deed.

The following terms are used in the record

Tōranattarayu-mlayōla—this refers to a document relating to a provision of land, from the rent of which a *tōrana* of lights had to be maintained in a temple, *tōrana* has also been used to refer to the land intended for the specific service

*Elakole*¹—The meaning of *ela* is 'fine, penalty, exacted presents' and that of *kola* is 'forced contribution or fine'. *Elayum-kolayum* is the expression generally used and it has been curtailed into '*elakolayum*'

Śuraṅgam is a mistake for *sunṅgam*, 'tolls or customs duties'.

Taragu which here means 'a royal writ or a document' connotes also 'brokerage or commission'

Text.²

First side.

- 1 ചെ[ഴ]യ മാണ്ട മീനത്തായര മെ ചെന്ന പുത്തൊഴെയും മകെയിരവും പഞ്ചമിയും ഇന്നാളാൽ തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ മക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു വാതിൽമാടത്തിൻകൽ തിരുവെളൈ-
- 2 (വളൈ) 'ന്നന്തർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പൻ തിരുമന്മാക കൽപ്പിച്ചു എഴുതിയ തൊരണത്തരക വിളെയൊലക്കണമാവിതു [1*] പടിഞ്ഞായിരറഞ്ചിറവൂർ കൈലിൽ വെളുന്നെന്തർ തെലത്തിനു തി-
- 3 രുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പന്ന തൊരണം വച്ചു കൊള്ളമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ചു തൊരണത്തരകം എഴുതിക്കൊടുത്താൻ ചിറവൂർക്കൈലിൽ കണ്ടെൻ കണ്ടെന്നം മണിയെ-
- 4 ന് കണ്ടെന്നം കൂട തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പന്ന ഇമ്മാക്കമെ പടിഞ്ഞായിരറഞ്ചിറവൂർക്കൈലിൽ വെളുന്നെന്തർ ദേശത്തിനു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടി-
- 5 ലെയപ്പന്ന തൊരണം വച്ചുകൊള്ളമാറും തൊരകം എഴുതിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിതു തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തർ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പൻ കണ്ടെൻ കണ്ടെന്നൊടും മണിയെൻ കണ്ടെന്നൊ-

1 Compare the following list of special privileges granted to kings in the *Keralolipatti*
വാലും, തോലും, കണയും, കരിമ്പടവും, അങ്കവും, ചുങ്കവും, ഏഴയും, കൊഴയും, അനയും,
വാളും, വീരക്കുറുപ്പല, വരള, വാളും, നിയമവെടി, നെരിപട്ടം, പടവീട, പരക്കംകുത്തു,
മുന്നിൽത്തളി, and ചിരവയ്ക്കി

2 Registered as No 10 of the Trav. Epig. Colln for 1098 M E

3 Cancel the syllables വളൈ which have been repeated

- 6 ടം കൂട[] ഇമ്മാക്കമെ [1*] ഇത്തൊരണത്തിന്നു എളുക കിഴക്കു ആറേയിൽ
വെള്ളെക്കരക്കു വെടാത്ത തെക്കുവായ്ക്കു കവലക്കു വെടാത്തതു വ
ടിഞ്ഞായെറു കണ്ടായിക്കൊ-
- 7 ടു തൊട്ടിന്നു വെടാത്ത വടക്കു പൊരയ്ക്കൊട്ടിന്നു വെടാത്തതു ഇന്നാലു എളു
ക്കെക്കകത്തു അകപ്പെട്ട തൊരണത്തിന്നകത്തു ഒള്ള എഴുകൊഴെയും² ചുര
ങ്കവും³ തരകം കുടിപതി ഒരു പുര-
- 8 വച്ചിരിക്കുന്നതിന്നു ആണ്ടുവരവും തിരുവെളുന്നെന്തുറ എണ്ടിലെയപ്പെന്നു
കൊടുത്തിരിക്കുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ച അമിചങ്ങല കുടിപതിയൊടു ആണ്ടുവര
വും വാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുമാറു കൽപ്പിച്ചു ക-
- 9 ടിയരി മ ന്നു നു ഇരട്ടയാൽ നെല്ലു ചെറുൽ മംമെ മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു
ആവണി സംക്രാന്തിവിളക്കിന്നും വിഷ്ണുവിളക്കിന്നും കൂടനാഴി ച നൈ
യ്യം ചാ മെ വിളക്കു തിരിയ-

Second side

- 10 ടം കൂട ആണ്ടുവരവും മെൽപ്പടി തെചത്തു കുടിയിരിക്കുന്ന കുടിപതിയൊടു
പറിക്കൊള്ളുമാറും കുടിപതിയൊടു വാങ്ങിക്കൊള്ളുമാറും കൽപ്പിച്ച
മെക്കു
- 11 ഇതിന്നു അറിയും താക്കു മഞ്ഞിപ്പെഴെ ഇന്നാരിന്നാരും പെറേയിൽ കൊവി
ന്നെൻ വിക്കിരമെന്നും ഇവർകൾ അറിയ ഇത്തൊരണയൊല കൈ
എഴു-
- 12 തിയ കണക്കു കുറവിക്കാട്ടു രാമെൻ അയ്യപ്പെൻ കൈ എഴുത്തു [1*] ഇമ്മ
യൊല്ലപ്പെട്ട തൊരണയൊല എഴുതിവച്ചു കൊടുത്ത കണ്ടൻ കണ്ടെന്നും
മണിയെൻ കണ്ടെന്നും കൂട പ്പെ[11*]

Translation.

On the 12th day expired of the month of Mīna of the (Kollam) year 240 corresponding to a Wednesday with Makayiram-nakshatra and pañchamī-tithi, the following deed relating to *īrāna-vīla* was written up in the entrance-hall of the temple at Tiruvelunnannūr and in the presence of god Endalayappan

1 Engraved below the line.

2 Compare

തെക്കേണ്ടു കൊണ്ടും

അഭിവിടിപൊടിപററി കോഴവ അിച്ചുമ്മേൽ

കുടികളെ മഥനംചെയ്തതമ ജ്ജിച്ചിരുന്നു

— *Umākēraḷam*, XVIII, 17.

and ഏഴയും കോഴയുമെക്കുകുണ്ടല്ലം

വാഴും നീലങ്ങടെ രാജഭോഗങ്ങളും

— *Pātracharitam*.

3 Probably ചുങ്കവും.

Kandan-Kandan and Maniyan-Kandan of Chiravūrkkal together gave in writing the *tōrana-taragu* for the maintenance of an arch of lamps (*tōrana*) to the god Endalayappan at Tiruvelunnannūr-dēsam, (a sub-division) of the western Chiravūrkkal.

In the same manner, god Endalayappan of Tiruvelunnannūr also had the document drawn up with Kandan-Kandan and Maniyan-Kandan for the maintenance of the *tōrana* to Endalayappan of Tiruvelunnannūr in Tiruvelunnannūr-dēsam, (which was itself) in Padīññattu-Chiravūrkkal.

The boundaries of this (land for) *tōrana* are
 in the east, up to Vellakkara in Arayil,
 in the south, up to the crossing of roads,
 in the west, up to the garden in Kandāyikkōdu, and
 in the north, up to Poraykkōdu

The fines, tolls and commissions on the lands lying within these boundaries which the tenants were required to pay to god Endalayappan of Tiruvelunnannūr in a year was 6½ *idangal* of rice (*kudiyari*), which doubled will be 1 *para* 2½ *idangal* of paddy, and with this 2½ *nāl* of good ghee and 250 wicks for the Āvanisankrānti and Vishu lamps were ordered to be obtained every year from the tenants cultivating the land

The witnesses who know this are certain persons in Mañjippula, Gōvmdan-Vikraman of Pereyil, and with the knowledge of these men, this is the signature of Rāman-Ayyappan of Kurikkādu, who wrote this *tōrana*-deed. This is also the attestation of Kandan-Kandan and Maniyan-Kandan, who had the above-mentioned document drawn up.

No. 24.—Kilimanur record of Kollam 343.

The subjoined inscription is written in Tamil on a set of six cadjan leaves discovered in the Vernacular Records Office within the Fort at Trivandrum and from the remarks made at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the next leaf, it is understood that the whole is a 'true copy' of a record engraved on a set of copper-plates whose whereabouts are not, however, now traceable. The 5th plate appears to have been missing from the set even at the time of the preparation of the cadjan copy and the inscription is also incomplete as it stops abruptly with the seventh leaf, second side, one or more sheets being missing at the end to complete the document. From the manner in which the cadjan copy has been written up at the rate of five lines on each page beginning from the inner side of the first leaf, it looks as if its scribe had been careful to copy down line for line and leaf for plate of the copper original. In the same Records Office were also found cadjan copies of several other copper-plate documents, whose originals had already been procured by this department for publication, viz., Śrīvallabhangōdai and Māmballi records edited on pages 9, 13 and 76 of Volume IV of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. From these facts, it can be affirmed that the present cadjan copy is a trustworthy document, so far as its subject matter goes.

The original record must have been engraved in Vatteluttu characters of the same type as those employed in the Mamballī plates of Vīra-Kēralavarman; but the copyist who prepared the cadjan *pagurppu* has been responsible for the large number of misreadings which are found to bristle all over the copy, mostly on account of his ignorance of the language used in the documents and also because of the inevitable confusion confronting the transcriber of Vatteluttu in the proper differentiation between several letters of its alphabet, which bear a close family likeness in their curvature and configuration. Notable among these errors of transcription are the following

(i) *na* has generally been confused with *te* to whose form it approximates, and thus has given rise to the incorrect readings தெவடெகோடனும் for தெவந கொ வ நும் (l. 5), காடுடெ கரையும் for காடுந கரையும் (l. 7), குளமுடெ for குளமுந (l. 18) etc; and in one instance it has been misread as *tu*, where பணியெழுதும் has been read in place of the correct பணியெழுந(ம்) (l. 25)

(ii) *na* has been read as *pa* or *va* and *vice versa* by the plausible excuse of ignoring the final upward stroke of the latter letters; for example நடுடெ (l. 53) ought to be read as படுந (this word occurs in lines 7 and 18 of Mamballī plates of Kēralavarman), நடகாரம் (l. 11) ought to be படகாரம், while திருவாளவாளப பி ன்றெறாள் (l. 13) must evidently be திருநாள(நாள)ப பின்றெறாள்.

(iii) the excusable but mistaken identification of the letters *pu* and *va* has commonly been indulged in, owing perhaps to the slovenly incision of the letters in the original itself:

(iv) the name of the king வீரஉதயமாராததாண்ட has been incorrectly read as வீரதெவமாராததாண்ட, because the vowel *u* was mistaken for the initial *e* curve for the second letter *ta* and the third letter *ya* was correspondingly read as *va* to suit the first letter so as to produce the sensible word *dēva*, but in line 56 this solution was not possible because of the clearer formation of the first letter and the misreading has therefore produced the word வீரவதேவ:

(v) the vowel *u* has been confused for *a* in the word *uri* (ll. 22, 23 and 26) probably because the initial redundant curvature of *a* was indistinct in the original, or the copyist read it as such from the analogous readings of *ari* occurring correctly elsewhere in the same lines, but from arithmetical calculation, it has been possible to ascertain that in all the corrected instances the word ought to be *uri* = half a *nāl*

(vi) The copyist's ignorance of the language of inscription is exhibited in his readings of வயசசன for உவசசன and பாதினற for ஊதினற (l. 10), அருளவழி for ஆள்வழி (l. 13) and in many other instances, where he appears to have been solely guided by the shape, probably obliterated, of the letters without a side-glance at the sense of the words with reference to their context. A similar mistake occurs in l. 21 where நெல் கதூஅழி (1080 *para* of paddy) has been rendered into நெல் கண்ட அபறயம்

These and similar errors have been corrected in the footnotes, and the slight difficulty which had been experienced in guessing at the right readings for incorrectly-read proper names of persons and places has also been overcome, wherever possible

The language of the record bears a close resemblance to that employed in the Māmballī record of king Vīra-Kēalavarman published on pages 76-80 of Volume IV *ante*, and as the orthographic peculiarities have already been discussed therein, it is not necessary to go over the same ground again in regard to this document also. A few of the expressions occurring in the record may be noticed.

*Ṭaṅgūru*¹ has been taken to refer to the smaller tract of country administered by a prince and *Ṭaṅgūru-vāḷunnaruliya* can therefore be taken as an epithet signifying 'who was the heir-apparent or *Yuvaṇṇya* and was in actual administrative charge of a minor portion of the dominions', *Ṭaṅgōḷḷūru* occurs in (l. 99) of the Tiruvalla plates and *Mudukūru* in the Tirunelli plates.²

Rakshābhōgam (verb *rakshuḥhu*) has been explained already,³ as 'the owner's share of the produce' and as 'the share or fee given for protection and other facilities to the renter or owner of land as revenue or rent'. The *Kēraḷōḷ-patti* says that when the administrative control of the *Kēraḷa* country was handed over to the viceroys selected by the brahman oligarchy for short terms of service, one-sixth of the produce of the lands was set apart as the remuneration payable to the *Rakshāpūṇṇas* or protectors for the maintenance of peace and order in the country and that this fee was called *rakshābhōgam* (*rāyabhōgam*) or 'the amount to be enjoyed for the service of protection'. *Rakshābhōgam* was also the name of freeholds, which were granted by kings or chiefs to persons who had rendered them special service in times of peril. This term latterly came to have the wider significance noted above.

*Pulari*⁴ is a classical Tamil word which has been adopted in Malayalam and it denotes the early part of the day about the time of morning twilight and is consequently the terminal portion of *raikarai*. According to *Tōḷḷāppiyam* the day of sixty *nāḷgai* was divided into six portions (*śarupoludū*) of ten *nāḷgai* each, beginning from sunset viz., *mālai*, *ṇāmam*, *vaiikarai*, *kālai*, *nanpaḷal* and *erpāḍu*. *Erpāḍu* (*el*=sun + *pāḍu*=setting) is identical in meaning with the expression *paḍiṇṇūru* (*ṇāyaru*=sun + *paḍu*=setting) now in use in Malabar, but the latter refers to the cardinal direction, and not to the time, of the setting sun. It is customary in well-endowed temples in which worship is conducted six times (*ārukālapūjar*) daily, to begin the first *pūja* (*uśahpūjā*) early in the morning. Provision for such an item of worship at *pulari* has been made in the Vellalūr inscription also.

Uchchi is midnoon when the sun is at its zenith, and *uchchi* which refers only to the position of the sun in the heavens has come to signify also the time of day, when that position is occupied by that luminary.

Attālam-tiruvamudū is the supper-offering to god. *Attālam* is compounded of *al*=darkness and *tālam*=descent, and is made to signify supper, the meal taken

1 *Trav. Arch. Series* Vol. IV, p. 27. Dr Gundert gives the meaning of *Ṭaṅgūru-vāḷchcha* as 'the dignity of the second prince'.

2 cf. புதைமுதலாதி முதலுதல வரமுதலா, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, 290.

3 *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. IV, p. 8.

4 புலரிதே காளில கனநினை என இளஞ்சிறகத்தைப் போககினை—*Peryūḷḷōṣ-Tiruvoli*, and தாதுமேலே புலரிவறிதெழுமேறென வருவது—*Ṭunṇuḷi-sanūḷam*.

Mādambī is another term peculiar to Kērala. It is composed of two words *māda* + *nambī* and connotes 'lord of a manor, *mādam* meaning 'a storeyed building' and *nambī* signifying 'a superior person, or the son of a brahman by a mother of the military race'. *Mādambimāi* were the feudal barons of Travancore in the early days, who exercised limited authority and maintained small units of armed retainers. They had to pay certain fixed contributions to the central authority in the forms of *āndukālchā*, *kettutēṇṇu*, *rakṣābhōgam* etc. *Mādattinīlīl* is the name of one of the five Kṣhatrīya families of Kērala and *Mātabhūpatī* is the title of the Cochin king. The mischief done by the petty chiefs called *Mādambimāi* to the ruling dynasty at Travancore in the 17th and 18th centuries is well-known.

Kālam (l 10) is the *taabhava* form of the Sanskrit word *lāhala* which means a trumpet (*truhchamam*) and blowing on it is a necessary item of service in temples *cf.*, *बीणाभेरिमृदङ्गकाहळकलागतञ्ज द्रव्य तथा*. This horn is generally sounded before the processions of gods, kings and gurus as a mark of honour, like a herald's trumpet. It occurs as *kāhālam* in line 353 of the Tiruvalla plates, and that form is nearer to the Sanskrit original.

4 தி. ஸ்ரீ ஸும பணியும் and தி. மலவசையா occur in the Thumali plates of Bhaskara Ravi—*Ind. Ant.*, XX—290.

The reading *oppu-kalippu muprōrāṇḍil* in line 26, as given in the *olai*, is not free from doubt. What is intended to be conveyed seems, however, to be the following. In all Malabar temples the worshipping priests and their immediate subordinates are generally left in charge only for a fixed term of from three to six years at a time, while another batch from some other temple will thereafter take their place, thus maintaining a regular rotation in the personnel of a particular temple. This temple may have also been similarly constituted, the temple servants being liable to a shift once in three years. The following instance may be compared —

‘சாநதிசெய்யுமவரனை மூவாண்டில் மிக வைக்கப்பெறா’ — Tirukkadittāṇam record ²

Line 31 furnishes a curiously misread expression ‘*pariparīṇḍar-varu-aratala*’ and its interpretation is therefore only tentative. The full sentence reads thus

‘பட்டா யநா கடுகாவளி தொமமின்னும ஸ்ரீகோவிலக்கும் மொருததம (?) வரு மபொழுதவிடெ கூடி நின்னு பரிபரிசாத்தா வரு இறதல’—

Pariparīṇḍar may be a mistaken transcription for *pariyariyādu*, which in correct Tamil will be *parikarikkādu* derived from the Sanskrit word *parihāra* (remedy), while the last word which has been read as *aratala* may be *arudu*, which is the Malayalam form of the Tamil word *aridu* or *ariyadu* and signifies ‘what ought not to be’. The sentence may therefore mean that ‘if any hindrance or damage were to occur to the temple holdings or to the temple itself, the *ūrālmakkārāi* should at once assemble and should not remain without setting right the trouble’. The expression *ariyariyādu* occurring in line 4 of the Kollur plates may be compared. *Moṟōttam* is unintelligible.

The point which calls for special note in the present document is the mention of several royal personages of Vēṇādu, viz.,

No	Name	Text-line
1	Vīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman-Tiruvadi	2, 34, 56.
2	Vīra Adichehavarman-Tiruvadi	3.
3	Maṇikanthan-Mādhaviyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvadi of Kīlappērūr	14
4	Maṇikanthan-Umayamunayāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvadi	16.
5.	Kōḍai-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvadi of Kīlappērūr	18
6.	Dēvadarāṇ-Āvaṇiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvadi of Tiruppāppūr	19.
7.	Kēraḷaṇ-Ādichehavarman of Mullakkal (Kollam 304.)	58, 62.

From their wording, the documents, appear to be a cumulative catalogue of the different endowments made to the temple of Tiruppārkkadal-Bhattāraka

1. *Tam. Arch. Series*, Vol II, p 65
 2. *ibid.*, Vol. II, p 40
 3. *ibid.*, Vol II p p 173 et seq

at Kilmānūr by successive kings of the Travancore dynasty and engraved on copper at some later date, which must be anterior at least to the last quarter of the 4th century of the Kollam era, the period of rule of Vīra Rāman-Kēralavarman. That the Māmballī plates published on pages 76 to 80 of Volume IV of the Archaeological Series may also be of such a character seems possible, and although Vīra-Kēralavarman's name alone occurs in that document, that set may have contained, in its entirety, the particulars of other endowments made to the Vīrakēralapuram temple by earlier and later donors, royal or private. Similar instances are not wanting when the previous benefactions to temples were recorded collectively in the same copper-plate set to facilitate easier reference and also perhaps to ensure greater permanence. The Tuuvalla plates¹ and the Kollūr-madam plates² are such examples, while the Ārrūr plate³ of Kollam 821 is another later instance, wherein the reason, viz., a fire accident, that necessitated such a consolidation of the earlier documents has also been referred to at the end.

At the beginning of this inscription, it is stated that Vīra Udayamārttāndavarman Tuuvadi was the *yuvārāja* or crown-prince (*ṣaṅgūru-vālmnarulīya*) at the time of that record, i.e., in Kollam 343 (Mēsha 13, Thursday, Uttinam, nayōdāśi-tithi). This was a year in which Jupiter stood in Makara and as the same Mārttāndavarman was still the administrative head of the *ṣaṅgūru* according to the Tiruvāttāru inscription the date of the latter which was on other grounds fixed to be Kollam 348 in which Jupiter stood in Karkataka, receives further confirmation from this record also. This prince was a reigning king at the time of the Kollūr-madam plates (Kollam 364) and the Tuuvāyanbādi bilingual record whose date was fixed as Kollam 371⁴, because it was a year in which Jupiter was in the Karkataka-rāśi and a signatory of this record was found to figure in a record of Vīra-Rāmanavarman of Kollam 371. But if the last word of the Sanskrit portion of the inscription is taken to represent a chronogram and worked out, the result obtained is a Kali date which corresponded to Kollam 359, which was also a year in which Jupiter occupied the same rāśi¹. Thus this king Vīra Udayamārttāndavarman may be considered to have reigned from at least Kollam 359 to 364 and a few years more, the limit on that side being Kollam 371, when his successor Vīra-Rāmanavarman had already ascended the throne.

Of the kings mentioned above, No. 2 Vīra Ādicchechavarman-Tuuvadi appears to have been a predecessor of Udayamārttāndavarman from the way in which he is referred to in the record and from the fact that the gifts of lands endowed by the former were regulated by the latter during the period of his heirapparentship. As he has also been mentioned expressly as ruling over Vēnādu (*vēnādu-vālmnarulīnra*), it is possible that he was the reigning king when Vīra Udayamārttāndavarman was the *yuvārāja* in charge of the *ṣaṅgūru* dominions. His

1. Trav. Archl. Series, Vol IV, p p 46 et. seq

2. *ibid.*, Vol IV, p 154, 8

3. *ibid.*, Vol IV, p 27

4. *ibid.*, Vol III, p 48. Mr T K Joseph, thinks with Prof P Sundaram Pillai (*Ind. Art*, XXVI, p 109) that *nāṅyagātmāśhamāyāh* works out to Kollam 359

name is new to history and no details are therefore available as to when he ruled and for many years. From the Puravaseri¹ inscription it is learnt that Vīra Ravivarman ruled over Vēnādu till atleast Kollam 337 and even after allowing him some years more and for a Vīrakērala² (339-42), there is still an interval of over 15 years to Vīra-Uḍayanārttāndavarman, who is known to have been in charge of the *ilaṅgūru* in the Kollam years 341, 343 and 348 and was the actual reigning king only from Kollam 359 or 364. It is just possible that the Ādityavarman of this record may have to be located in this period.

The last name occurring at the end of the available portion of the set is Kēralan-Ādichechavarman of Mullakkal, whose gift of lands yielding 100 *para* of paddy is stated to have been made on the 1st day of Mēdam of the Kollam year 304 (expressed in words). In the double name (*vattaippēr*) of Kēralan-Ādityavarman, Kēralan represents, according to the custom of Malabar, the name of the uncle and Ādityavarman that of the individual himself. From the Chōlapuram inscription³ we know that Vīra-Kēralavarman was the Vēnādu king in Kollam 302 and it is just possible that the Ādityavarman of the present record may have been his nephew. In the absence however of any distinguishing epithets such as *Śrī*, *Vīra*, *Pillaiyār* or *Tiruvadi*, it is not safe to raise the individual to that dignity, the *varman*-title of his name connoting only a *kshatriya* pedigree and nothing more. He may even have been a private individual, an aristocrat perhaps, hailing from Mullakkal. According to the 'Suchindran inscriptions' Kōḍai-Kēralavarman was on the Vēnādu throne between the years 320 and 325 after the king Vīra Kērala, mentioned above.

Nos. 3 and 4 have to be taken as princes, the sons respectively of the queens Mādhavī and Umayammai, both of whom were in all probability sisters of Vīra-Rānavarman of Kilappērūr who was the king of Travancore from about Kollam 371 (A. D. 1195). It is noteworthy that the same suffix *āya* (*āna*) is used here in *Umayammayāya* and *Mādhariyāya* as a wrong substitute for *yin* to denote, as suggested on page 69 of Volume IV, the parentage of the princes mentioned thereafter. These names remind one of the names of Gōtamīputra and Vāsistīputra of the northern kings. Manikanthan-Umayammayāya Pillaiyār-tiruvadi may refer to Rānan-Kēralavarman who was the successor of Manikanthan-Rānavarman, but it is more probable that his brother who figures in the Kadmaṅ-gulam⁴ epigraph as the consecrator of the image of the god in that Śiva temple is evidently meant, because Dēvadaran-Kēralavarman is separately mentioned. The other nephew of Manikanthan-Rānavarman, namely, Manikanthan-Mādhaviyāya Pillaiyār-tiruvadi, the son of Rānī-Mādhavī, is a prince whose name is disclosed for the first time in this record, but his distinctive name is not mentioned.

The next pair of royal personages mentioned is Kōḍai-Āvaniyāya Pillaiyār-tiruvadi of Kilappērūr and Dēvadaran-Āvaniyāya Pillaiyār-tiruvadi of Tiruppāp-pūr. In the Māmbaḷḷ plates of Dēvadaran-Kēralavarman, the name of that

1 *Ind. Ant.* XXIV, p. 258

2 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 253

3 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 17

4 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 20-21

5 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 69-70

king is stated in full as Kīlappērūr Vīra Dēvadaran-Āvanīyāna Pillaiyār-tiruvadī¹, where the title *Āvanīyāna* has been considered to refer probably to Śravana, the star of nativity of the king and Kīlappērūr to the *illam* with which he was connected, whereas the present record connects his name with the Tuuppāppūr family also. If Kōdai-Āvanīyāna Pillaiyār-tiruvadī of Kīlappērūr is possibly identical with Dēvadaran-Āvanī, it may furnish the detail that Kēraḷavarman had also the title of Kōdai, which is often used as a dynastic name of the Kēraḷa kings. It may not be correct to consider him as different from Dēvadaran-Āvanī, as the common natal star 'Āvanī'² of both these princes points to their identity, unless it be that Kōdai and Dēvadaran were twins, or if different, they had a horoscopic coincidence in their star of nativity.

It is unfortunate that this record happens to be incomplete and if the missing leaves of this as well as of the incomplete Mambalī record of Dēvadaran-Kēraḷavarman could be procured, they will be valuable for setting aright some of the doubtful points in the history of the 4th century of the Kollam era.

The record under consideration is divisible into a few sections, each section specifying the provisions for a distinct item of service or recording the gifts made therefor by a separate donor.

First section.

The first record opens with the date—the 12th solar day of the month of Mēsha of Kollam 342, when Jupiter stood in Makara, corresponding to a Thursday, Uttiram, trayōdaśī, when Śrī Vīra Udayamārttāndavarman-tiruvadī was administering (as heir-apparent) the *ilāṅgūru* dominions of Vēnādu and states that he fixed the scale of expenditure in the temple of Tiruppārkkadal-Bhattāraka in respect of the conduct of the daily *balī*-ceremony and other expenses connected with god's worship and the yearly festivals of the temple.

The village of Kilmānūr with the forests, arable lands and compound sites included in it, was granted by Śrī Vīra-Aḍichchavarman Tiruvadī who was the ruler of Vēnādu, for the expenses connected with the feeding of brahmins or with the annual temple festivities (*brahmasvām* or *brahmōtsavam*) and ten individuals were elected for the management of the temple affairs from among those who were already attached to other important temples. They were—

1. [Anantan]-Kunraṇ of Puḍuvāḷkkasthānam from Paravur.
2. Śuvākaran-Dāmōdaran of Kūrṇamballī from Mūlīkkalam,
3. [Śendan]-Dēvaṇ of Vāvukādu from Ayirāṇikkalam,
4. Dēva-Nārāyanan of Vāraṇakōttam from Iruṇṇāḷikkudal.
5. Dēvaṇ-Kōvan of Kulannādu from Peruvannam,
6. Nārāyanan-Śrīkumāran of Pinaṇṇādu.

1 T. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 74

2 It may be noted that *Āvana* is the name of Simha month and of the star Śaivishṭhā, not Śrāvana.

மருவியகரகபுளளுவசககணுள பறவை புளளு

விரவு மாவணியவிட்டம்—

Chudāmanu, n. 77.

- 7 Rudhan-Śaṅkaran of Vaṅjippulai, a *Mādambi* from Cheṅgannū,
- 8 Dāmōdaran-Krishnan of Vilakkilmangalam from Tiruvallavāl,
9. Vikkīrama-Nārāyaṇan of Makilaṅjēri, a *Mādambi*, and
10. Śati Vikkīraṇan - Śatti of Kamugaṅjēri from Āranmula.

After setting apart lands in Parappunādu at the rate of plots (having the sowing capacity) of six *kālam* (of paddy seed) and also one male and one female servant for each of these, the balance of land including forest, arable lands, compound sites and of labourers was left with them subject to the supervision of the king's representative and from the *rakshābhōyam* accruing from these lands provision was made for the payment of 100 *para* of paddy per year by the *para* holding 10 *mūli* to the *unachchan* blowing on the *kālam* (pipe).

100 *para* of paddy which had to be given per year to the gods of the Ayirūr and Pulel temples was ordered to be collected at the rate of 10 *para* from each of the ten individuals who were in the enjoyment of the *padagāram* lands of six *kālam* sowing capacity.

100 *para* of paddy per year which had to be collected from Kīrradiichchuvaram was also arranged to be paid to the king's agents (*kōyimmār*) at the end of the festival days in the month of Mēdam and receipt obtained therefor

In this manner was the cadjan order of the temple transactions written up and deposited in the temple treasury (*bhandāra*).

This apparently finishes the first record, but before passing on to the next section it may be of interest to note that, if the similarity in the names of persons coming from the same place can count for anything, three out of the ten persons mentioned above seem to have had some relatives figuring in the Huzur Office Plates of the Tiruvalla temple, (*T. A. S.* II-173). The following pairs of names may be noticed:

<i>Village.</i>	<i>Tiruvalla Plates</i>	<i>Kilimanur Record.</i>
Vāvukādu (Vēlakādu)	Nārāyaṇan-Śendan	Śendan-Dēvan
Piṇaṇṇādu	Kumaran-Śendan	Nārāyaṇan-Śrīkumaran
Vilakkilmangalam	Krishṇan-Dēvan	Dāmōdiran-Krishnan
Makilaṅjēri	Dēvan-Vikkīraṇan	Vikkīraṇan-Nārāyaṇan

As the second group of individuals lived in or some years before Kollam 343, the persons figuring as donors to the Tiruvalla temple who may have been removed from them by one or, at the most, two generations may therefore have lived at the end of the 3rd century of the Kollam era, which period does not clash with the date assignable to the engraving of the Tiruvalla plates from palaeographical considerations.

Second section

A second document states that the provision of 3 *para* of paddy required for the daily expenses of the temple was to met from the following sources:

- 1 from the lands and sites in Kānttunnrai, the fields called Idaman and Āyiraman in Nāvāikkalam and half of Nedumpuram-parambu, which were given to Manikanthan-Mādhaviyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvadi of Kilappērūr as freehold (*kārāḷma*), 360 *para* of paddy per year was to be measured at the rate of one *para* of good paddy per day;
- 2 the *bhandāra* paid 240 *achchu* on certain lands in Kadamba-nādu and Perumannūr belonging to Manikanthan-Umaiyyammaiyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvadi of Kilappērūr and from these lands 240 *para* of paddy had to be measured.
- 3 for another amount of 240 *achchu* paid on the lands called Palaukkulam, Neduman in Kottarakara, Airuvāchchēri in Kāttāmattala and Periya-mummi in Pallaikkal belonging to Kōdai-Āvaniyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvadi of Kilappērūr, 240 *para* of paddy had to be measured, and
- 4 for a third equal amount of 240 *achchu* paid on the lands called Kaichchēy . . . and Muttakkādu belonging to Dēva-daran-Āvaniyāya Pillaiyār-Tiruvadi of Tiruppāppūr, 240 *para* of paddy had to be measured

Thus with this aggregate quantity of 1080 *para* of paddy, it was ordered that a daily dole of 3 *para* of paddy should be measured so as to provide 48 *nāli* of rice by the *nattamada* (measure) of the temple, and from it the following scale of distribution of rice was fixed

<i>Items of expenditure.</i>	<i>nāli</i>	<i>uri</i>
the <i>mēlsānti</i> (worshipping priest)	4	1
one <i>kīlsānti</i> (his assistant)	3	1
another <i>kīlsānti</i> (do)	3	
<i>tirukkuda</i> (umbrella-bearer)	2	
<i>śrībali</i> and <i>vaśavadēva</i> offerings	3	1
morning (<i>pulari</i>) offerings	5	
midday (<i>uchchi</i>) offerings	21	1
night (<i>attālam</i>) offerings	5	

Total 48 *nāli*.

The total daily offerings prepared with 31 *nāli* and 1 *uri* of rice, as noted above, were also ordered to be distributed among the temple servants in the following scale

	<i>nāli</i>	<i>uri</i>
the <i>vāriyan</i>	5	
the flower supply (<i>cuppaṭṭiṭṭiyar</i>)	4	
the watchmen (<i>umāṇḍiṭṭar</i>)	3	
the woman-servant (<i>tēradichchi</i>) who pounded the paddy and carried the hand lamps	2	
the drummers (<i>uvachchar</i>) who provided the seven items of service during <i>śrībali</i> , at 2 <i>nāli</i> + 1 <i>uri</i> each	17	1
Total	31	1

Third section.

It was also stipulated that there should be a change in the temple personnel once in every three years.

The following amounts were also ordered to be collected, probably as entrance fees (*adīyara* or *pāḍakānnikka*), from

	<i>achchu</i>
the <i>mēlśānti-nambī</i>	2
the <i>kīlśānti</i>	1
the <i>vāriyan</i>	1
the <i>pallittāyam</i>	1
Total	5

and this amount of five *achchu* was to be utilised for the purchase of or repairs to the temple utensils and other wastages, without allowing the *kōyimmārs* and *ūrālars* who superintended the temple affairs to utilise any portion of it for their own use

This expenditure had to be looked after by batches of two persons for each year. It was also ordered that if the above expenses were not properly administered, the incumbents of the year will have to vacate their posts in the *ūrālma* (committee of management), and that they should also settle any slight disputes or entanglements that may occur with reference to the temple holdings or to the temple itself

The ten members (*ūrālars*) were thus divided into five batches of two members each, which had to hold office in turns for a term of one year.

	<i>Name</i>	<i>Line</i>
First year	{ 1 Śuvākaraṇ-Dāmōdaraṇ of Kūrrampalli	4, 31
	{ 2 Nārāyaṇaṇ-Śrīkumāraṇ of Pinañṇādu	5, 31
Second year	{ 1. Dēva-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vāranakōttam	5, 32
	{ 2 Dēvaṇ-Kōvaṇ of Kuḷannādu	5, 32
Third year	{ 1 [Anantaṇ]-Kuṇraṇ of Puduvaḷkkasthānam	4, 32
	{ 2 [Śaṇḍaṇ]-Dēvaṇ of Vāvukādu	5, 32
Fourth year	{ 1 Dāmōdiraṇ-Kriṣṇaṇ of Vilakkilimangalam	6, 32
	{ 2. Śatti-Vikkiramaṇ of Kamukañjērī	7, 33
Fifth year	{ 1 Vikkiramaṇ-Nārāyaṇaṇ of Makilañjērī	6, 33
	{ 2. Rudraṇ-Śankaraṇ of Vañjippuḷai	6, 33

and they had to administer the temple expenditure in the aforesaid manner, their eldest sons succeeding them in the temple management on their absence or demise.

This portion of the document seems to be contemporaneous with the first section, as the same ten members are mentioned in both of them

Fifth section.

Then follows an incomplete passage referring to a gift of land in Nagarūr having the sowing capacity of 13 *para* of paddy, which was purchased by king Vīra-Udayamārttāndavarman Tiruvadi from a certain Kumara-Nārāyaṇa of Śengalunīr-maṅgalam, viz ,

Kīlkundārōḍi of the sowing capacity of 10 *para* of seed and 3 *para* of land in Mēkkānattūr.

The cadjan leaf then closes with the remark that the above was transcribed from the first four sheets of a set of copper plates.

Sixth section.

The sixth leaf begins with the note that the fifth copper-plate was missing at the time of the transcription itself and that the further copy is from the sixth plate of the set, the subject matter of which is in continuation of what must have been incised on the missing sheet.

It gives a catalogue of certain pieces of land which must have been given to the temple —

<i>Name of place</i>	<i>Capacity</i>		<i>Remarks.</i>
	<i>para.</i>	<i>idaṇ.</i>	
Enmilam	11		
Tottikkōḍu	5		
Mannadi	7		
Tadanōḍu	12		
Vettikkōḍu	4		
Vettiyattukandam	1	2½	
Perumbaravūr	1		
Śēṅūru	10		
Serumāvēli	5		
Mundakkal	3		
Śerukadaman	1		
Kīrttīmaṅgalam	10		Occurs also in the Mitrā-nandapuram plate.
Añjal	5		Perhaps a village in Pattanāpuram taluk.

In all, lands having the sowing capacity of 107 *para* of paddy were left with the temple officials (*dēvarlaṇṇis*) after deducting the old dues and *mēlppāḍi*, to provide for the expenses of *tachchu* in the temple of Tiruppārkadal-bhattāraka. *Tachchu* may be Skt. *Dīkṣhā* as in the word *Tachchudaiya-kaimmal*, the sacerdotal dignitary in charge of certain temples. As the total of the above items gives only about 75¾ *para*, the details relating to the balance of 31¼ *para* of land appear to have been lost in the missing fifth plate.

It is further stated that the *ōlai*-document relating to the above was deposited in the *bhandāra*, and it must therefore have been a separate record by itself.

Seventh section.

This section begins with the date Kollam 341, Chingam 1. It records that the following pieces of land were bought by the subordinate officials of Vīra-Udayamārttāndavarman Tiruvadi and given as *kīlśānti-virutti*.

<i>Name of land</i>	<i>Capacity in para.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Ānādu-jīvitam-Mihyūr	20	Ānādu is a pakudi in Nedumaṅgād taluk.
Vembāykunram-jīvitam-Kandamaṅgalam	10	Probably Vembāyam in the same taluk
Nerpādu-jīvitam-Kīlmana	10	
Land of Kandaṇ-Ravi of Mēlachchēri	10	
Mēvūr	10	Now called Mēvūrkkal in Chirayinkil taluk.
Ānādu-Śeruvāla	10	
Total	70	

Eighth section.

This is dated on the 1st day of Mēdam of the Kollam year 304 (in words) and relates to the lands in the eastern Chirayūrkkal which had been leased out under Kēralan-Ādichchavarman of Mullakkal, namely,

<i>Name of land</i>	<i>Capacity in para.</i>
Adimayālakkōdu	15
Mullakkal	50
Mēttukkuli	20
Total	85

From these lands, 100 *para* of paddy had to be given to the officers (*adhikārar*) and in exchange for the lands in Marudūr-Mantōḍi in Chirayūrkkal which had been previously endowed as *mēlśānti-virutti*, 100 *para* of paddy had also to be measured out in addition and the temple-servants (*dēvarkarmi*) were directed to take written receipts for these payments.

The penalty that was fixed for non-payment was double the quantity (at default) for the first occasion, double the default and an additional fine for two occasions of failure, while the punishment for remissness on three consecutive occasions is not explicit here. In other instances it is generally eviction of the tenants.

This transaction which had been written on cadjan and deposited in the temple treasury had originally constituted another separate document.

Ninth section.

Only one line of this section is now available and the year of this transaction is not also noted, only the first digit 3 of the Kollam year having been copied by the scribe. The following names occur in this line of writing

<i>Name</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Kāḍavakkuttumala	
Ilambela	This may be Ilamba in Chirayinkil Taluk.
Dēvan-Ravi of Tiladamangalam	Tiladamaṅgalam occurs also in the Kaviyur epigraph and Tiruvalla plates.

The record then stops abruptly in the middle of the 65th line, either because the further sheet of the set was not available or the transcription was not continued further. If the eighth sheet had not been available to the copyist, he will have entered a remark to that effect, but he has not done so

The following additional proper names occur in the record

<i>Name of place.</i>	<i>Text line.</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Āranimula	7	is a hamlet in the Tiruvalla taluk
Āṇuvāchchērī	18	is in Kuḷakkaḍa-pakudi in the Kottarakara taluk.
Ayirūr	11	is a hamlet in the Chirayinkil taluk
Ayirānikulam	4	is probably Ernakulam.
Cheṅgaṇṇūr	5	is a taluk of the Quilon Division.
Chiraiyūrkkal	58	is in the Kummil pakudi of the Kottarakara taluk.
Irunnāḍikkudal	5	is a town in Cochin State.
Irunṇalattūr		may be Irunnalur in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kadambanādu	16	is in the Perungulam-pakudi of the Nedumangad taluk.
Kamugaṇjērī	7	is in the Pattanapuram pakudi of the same taluk.
Kandamaṅgalam	53	
Karichchēy	20	is probably Karichchāyil in the Āvanavaṇjērī pakudi of the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kāttāmattala	18	
Kilappērūr	9	is a hamlet in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Kilimāpūr	3	is a pakudi in the same taluk.

<i>Name of place</i>	<i>Text line</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Kīradīchchuvaram	12	occurs in the Quilon inscription of Kollam 278.
Kottarakkara	18	is a railway station on the Quilon-Shencotta line
Kulangādu	5	
Kumalattū	50	may be only Kunnattūr or Kuntallūr in the Chirayinkil taluk
Kūnambal	1	
Makalanjēr	6	occurs in the Tuvvalla plates
Mēlachchēr		
Melkānattū	35	
Mihyūr	52 56	
Mūlikkalam	4	is a village in the Alangad taluk
Mullakkal	58	
Mundakkal		may be Mudākkal
Muttakkādu	20	may be a mistake for Muttakadam or Muttākkadagam near Kilimānuur
Nagarū	35	is adjacent to Kilimanur.
Nāvaykkalam	15	is a village near Āttingal in the Chirayinkil taluk (Tirunāvāy, the famous Vaishnav <i>divyadēśam</i> is in South Malabar)
Neduman	18	is probably the village in Nedumangad taluk.
Nedumpuram	15	is in Chettivilākam-pakudi of the Trivandrum taluk.
Paravūr	4	is a village in the Quilon taluk and is a railway station
Palakkulam		If this is an incorrect rendering of Palayakunram, it is near Kilimanur
Pallikkal	18	is a village in the Chirayinkil taluk.
Pmaññādu	5	
Parappunādu	7	may be a mistake for Parappañgōd in the Nedumangad taluk. Parappanādu is in Malabar
Perumanpūr	16	Peruman is in the Quilon taluk.
Peruvanam	8	is the one in the Cochin State.
Puduvākkusthānam	4	

<i>Name of place</i>	<i>Text line</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
Pullel	11	now called Pallavil in the Chinnai taluk
Sengalunirmangalam	34	occurs in the Mamballu plate
Tiladamangalam	64	occurs in Kavivūr inscription and in the Truvalla plates
Tiruppāppū	64	is a village 10 miles north of Trivandrum
Tiruvallavāl	6	is the headquarters of Truvalla taluk
Vañjipula	6	is in the Kottarakkavil taluk
Vāranakkōttam	5	
Vāvukādu	5	may be a mistake for Vēlakādu of the Truvalla plates
Vilakkilmangalam	6	occurs in the Truvalla plates

Text.¹*First plate second side*

- 1 கொல்லம் நாசயிந மாண்டெ² மகரத்தில் விபாழம் நின்ற மெட வாய்ந்து ப-
நதிரண்டு சென்ற விபாழமாண்ட உததிரவும் பககம்³ திரபொருகியும் இ-
நநாளால் வெண்டு இளங்குறு வாழுகநருளி⁴
- 2 ஸ்ரீவீரதேவ⁵மாரத்தாண்டவாமம் திருவடி கீழ்⁶மேசிலவினு திட்டம் பண-
ணிச்செருளிய திருப்பாலக்கடல் பட்டாரகாக⁷பு⁸ அமரசிலவும் நிச்ச-
னவிகும⁹ பிரமமவீததினும் கற்பிச்ச பரி-
- 3 சாவிது [1⁰] ஐடி திருக்கொவிககல பிரமமவீததினு வெண்டு வாழுகநருளி-
ன்ற ஸ்ரீவீர ஆதிச்சவாமம் திருவடி கற்பிச்சு கொடுத்தருளி¹¹ கிளிமா-
னூர் பூமியுந காடும கரயும கரபுரயிடத்திடு மானி-
- 4 டெம்¹² ஐடி முக்காலவட்டத்து ஊராழமமகரு கொண்டபொ வரபூரகரு¹³

1 Registered as No 11 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1098 M. J.

2 Read °மாண்டை.

3 The *pakska* is not specified as either 'dark' or 'bright', *paksha* also means simply the *tail*.

4 Evidently a misreading for உதய°.

5 Read perhaps நடசிலவினு and நடசிலவும்

6 Read நிச்சபலிகும or நிச்சனடைகும்

7 This may be a mistake for மானியம்

8 Read பறஜா

¹ பு துவாசசுதான நதங்குனதனும் முழிக்கனத்தினு கூற்றம்பளளிச சு-
பா கரந தாமொதரனும் அயிராணிகனத்தினு வாவுகாட்டு

- 5) ² திராதக தெவனும் யிருநகாடிகுடலககு வாரணைகொட்டத்து தெவநா-
சாயணனும் பெருவனத்தினும் ³ குலாவநாட்டு தெவனெ⁴ கொட்டனும்
⁵ கொடுநகாடிகு பெண்குநாடு நாராயணன் ஸ்ரீகுமாரனும்

Second plate first side

- 6) சே பாரு மாடம்பிகளில் வருஞிபபுழைய ருத்திபன் சங்கரனும் திருவல்லா-
வாழ்கரு ளிலக்கிலிமங்கலத்து தாமொதிரங் கிருட்டனும் சே பாரு மாட-
ம்பிகளில் மகிழஞ்செரி விககிரம நாராயணனும்
- 7) ஆறம்முனாககு நம்கஞ்செரிக கன்றி ⁶ விககிரமஞ்சத்தியும் ⁷ கூடய பொ ப-
த்தியும் பொ ஓநதினு நிலம் அலகலமும இதினடுத்த பரப்பநாட்டின்
செய்மெ⁸ ஓள்ள காடும் கரயு⁹ கரபுரமிடமும
- 8) பொ ஓநதினு ஆறன ஓனனும் பெண்ணுள ஓனனும் ஆகயி¹⁰ அறுபதின்கல-
மம் ஆள ¹¹ ஓநபதும் நீக்கி ஓள்ள நிலம் பரிபாபப்பட்டதும் காடுங் க-
ரயு¹² ¹³ கரெபுரமிடமும ஆறன கூட
- 9) திராபொநா நாடு வாயியிடெ முத்து¹⁴ சே முக்காலவட்டத் ததிகாரம் ஓ-
ண்டாயிருந் தருளும் கொயிமமாரு காராமுமமாரக அதிகரிசுகொண்டு
புறக்காலவட்டத்தின்னு மெலி மகூபொக-
- 10) மாநி ¹⁵ ராயசசமார, ந மாதெவாக்கு ஸ்ரீவெலிகு காளம் ¹⁶ பாதினற ¹⁷ வாயச-
பன் ஆறாடு வாயும் கொடுப்பான் ஸமமங்கசச நெல பதினாழிப்பறபால்
நா யாழய(மு)ங் கொடுநது¹⁸ இததொம்மும

- 1 This occurs again in line 32 as பு துவாசசுதானம் நதங்குனதனும் but the correct word seems to be பு துவாசசுதானம் ஆறநதங் குனதனும் பு துவாசசுதானம் may be பு துவாசசுதானம்
- 2 The correct word for which திராதக is evidently a mistaken reading cannot be guessed, it may be செ துந and வாவுகாடு may be வேறகாடு
- 3 This name occurs in line 32 as குலாவநாட்டு, which seems to be correct
- 4 Read தெவனெ in தெவனெ is evidently a misreading for வ and has similarly been misread in several other places
- 5 கொட்டனும் may more correctly be கொவனும்
- 6 This is probably செ ரி நகிலிகொளஞ் சத்தியும், compare line 33
- 7 Read கூடிய
- 8 It occurs also as செய்மெ in l. 30 of the Manbali plates of Vira Kēralavāman
- 9 Read சகையும், vide note 6 above
- 10 Read ஆகயிவ அறுபதி
- 11 Probably இருபதும்
- 12 Read கரையுங்
- 13 The correct reading is doubtful, perhaps it is கடைவழியிடெ (= the temple threshold) யமை, தன or நாடுவழியிடெ (= office) யமத்து (நடைவழியிடை (= country-custom))
- 14 Read ரட்சகசிகிருநது.
- 15 Read ஊதினற.
- 16 Read உவசனனும்
- 17 Read கொடுநது

Second plate second side.

- 11 ஸ்ரீபெரிய கொடுந்தக கற்பிச்சு [1] கிளிமாணா பூமி மெப்பொப்பட்ட
கிளம் [1*] மலும் அபிஞா தெவாக்கும் புல்லெ[ல] த தெவாக்கும் ஆ-
னாவையுங் கொடுக்கவெண்டு(ம)ந நெல நூறுபறயும் இநநிலம்¹ நடகாரம்
- 12 பாண்டதிகரிகினற பெ²வந்தும் ஆறுகலம் நிலதகி னு நாலப்பதின
பமெ³ செனநெல கொடுத்த வ நவிதாகவும் கற்பிச்சு [1⁴] கிறறடிச்சு
வரத்தினு கொடுக்கும் நெல நூறுபறயும் ஆண்டுவரயும் மெடஞா-
- 13 ஸ்ரீ⁵ தநநாலகடல் பட்டாரகா திரு[வா]ள⁶[வா]ளப் பினறெ[வா]ள
வெண்டி⁷ நெல மணிச்சமாய வரினற⁸ அருளவழி கொடுத்து குறியும்
கொண்டு⁹ நுவிதாகவும் கற்பிச்சிவிட மெல்லாம்¹⁰ செயபி¹¹ ஓலெ
மலெ-
- 14 ஸ்ரீ பூபண்ட ரததிலீட்டிது [11¹²] ஷே முககாலவட்டத்து¹³ நிச்சலவுடக்கு
வெண்டு¹⁴ நெல மூநநரப் பறக்கும்¹⁵ கீழப்பெஞா மணிகண்டம் மாதவி-
ப்பப் பிளையாரா திருவடிக்கு காராமும் கொடுத்த காரித்தும்¹⁶
- 15 ப பூமியும் புரயிடும் மறநி¹⁷ நாவாயிக்களத்தில் யிடெமண்ணும் ஆயிரப-
ண்ணு¹⁸ மெப்பொப்பட்டத்திம் மெலும் நெடும்¹⁹ ஆறும் பரம்பில் பா-
திபும் கூட²⁰ சித்தஞ²¹ செவத்துவ நெல ஒருபறெ செயிவதாக²²

Third plate first side.

- 16 பாண்டரல கொடுப்பான கற்பிச்சு ஸ்ரீ நாயு¹ ம [1*] ஷே மணிக
ண்ட னுமயபுமமெ² ஆய பிளையாரா திருவடிக்கு ஓளள கீழப்பெஞா
உடய கட்டமனாடும் பெருமண்ணுரும
- 17 மறந மெப்பொப்பட்டத்திம் மெலும் பண்டாரத்தில் நினறெடுத்த கொடு-
த்த அச்சு ஸ்ரீ நூற்றி நாலப்பதினும்³ செயநதுமாறு கலப்பிச்சு நெல
யிருநூற்றிநாலப்பது பறயும் [1] ஷே கீழப்பெஞா கொடுத

- 1 Read டடக ரம்.
- 2 Probably பத்தும்.
- 3 Read செயதுநெல (= good paddy)
- 4 Read கிருப்பாறட்டல் as in other lines
- 5 Read கிருளான நான பினறெ நாள
- 6 Read ஆளவழிக்கொடுத்த
- 7 This is expressed by a combination.
- 8 There is some mistake here, it is perhaps கற்பிச்சிவிடமெல்லாம் செயகட ஓலை.
- 9 This may be நால நட நிலவுக்கு as in l. 15 of the Vamballi plate, or நாவல நிலவுக்கு
- 10 This ought to be முன்றுபறக்கும் as in l. 21 below
- 11 There is a mistake here.
- 12 Read perhaps ஆயிரமண்ணும்
- 13 There is some mistake here, probably ஸ்ரீ நெடும்புறம்
- 14 Read சித்தஞ நெலுத்துவ
- 15 பற is expressed by the symbol ஓ
- 16 Read ஒருபறெச செயதாக
- 17 Read மணிகண்ட னுமயமமயாய, கீழப்பெஞா உடய occurring after it, has perhaps to be taken be-
fore மணிகண்ட.
- 18 Read செவத்துமாறு

- 18 ஆவணியாய பிள்ளையா திருவடிகு ஓளள பழைக்குளமுடெ¹ கொட்டகார-
தகரை நெடுமண்ணும காட்ட மததல ஆற்றுவாச்செரியும் பள்ளிகல
பெரிய² மூமடிகும் எப்பொப்பட்டகிமெமலும்
- 19 பண்டாரத்தில நின்மெடுத³ கொடுதத் அச்சு உச்சு⁴ னும்⁵ செதுமாறு க-
றப்பாச்ச நெல் யிருநூற்றநாலபது பறயும் [41] திறப்பாப்பூ தெவதர-
வ ஆவணியாய பிள்ளையா திருவடிகுள்ள
- 20 கரிச்செய்ய ானுபமெததலுவும⁶ முட்டக்கா⁷ நிம⁸ இவயூக்கடெ எப்பொப்ப-
ட்ட திய⁹ மெமலும் பண்டாரத்தில திறநும் கொடுதத் அச்சு¹⁰ ஒருநூற்றநா-
லப்பாத்தின றும் கொடுக்குமாறு

Third plate second side

- 21 கறப்பாச்ச நெல் யிருநூற்றநாலபது பறயும் [41] கூடெ நெல்¹ கண்ட அலிள
யும் கொண்டு நாள ஒன்றினனு நெல் முப்பறபால் அரி தெவா இரட்ட-
மடயால் நாலபதத்தெண்ணுழி ஆவதும் மெறச்சாநத்தகு அரி நானுழி
பறியும்
- 22 கிழச்சாநது ஒன்றினனு அரி முநநாழி² அரியும் கிழச்சாநக்³ ஒன்றினனு அரி-
யுநநாழியும் க⁴ கக்குடக⁵ அரி யருநாழியும் முச்செட்டெ⁶ ஸீவெலிகு
⁷ வைச்சு⁸ ரு⁹ தெய¹⁰ க¹¹ தன¹² னும் அரி முநநாழி¹³ அரியும் புலரியெ திருஅமாதினு
- 23 அரி ஆளுநாழியும்¹⁴ உச்ச¹⁵ க்கெ திருஅமாதினனு அரி யிருபத்தொருநாழி¹⁶ அ-
ரியும் இரா அத்தாளத் திருஅமாதனனு அரி ஆளுநாழியும் கூடெ அரி-
நா லபத்தெண்ணுழியும் நெராக இம்மாக்கமெ சிலவும்¹⁷ சிலத்த¹⁸ வருவி-
தா கயும் [1¹⁹]
- 24 விதில திருஅமாத சிலவினற அரி முப்பத்தொருநாழி²⁰ அரியும் கொண்²¹
வாய்²² ய²³ அருநாழி அரி சொறும்²⁴ திறப்பள்ளிதாயத்தினனு²⁵ நாலா-
ழி அரி²⁶ ம²⁷ திருமெனிகாவலக்கு நிலக்கும் பிள்ளைககு முநநாழி
அரிச சொறும் திரு-
- 25 ஆராதன²⁸ ற²⁹ நெல் குததுவிதும் கைவிளக்கு பிடிப்பிதும்³⁰ செயிவினறெ
தெவடிச்சுகனக்கு யிருநாழி அரிச சொறும் திருவெலிகு³¹ பணியெ-
ழுக்கும் கொட்டி³² னறெ³³ வயச்சுகள பொ [எ]ழி³⁴ ன³⁵ னும்

1 Read குழை

2 There is some mistaking here

3 Read செலுமாறு.

4 The correct name cannot be guessed

5 Read இவையும or it may be குவையும கூட as in p 51 of I + Vol III

6 Read இருநூற்றி

7 Read ஆவடு

8 Read உரியும், உ having been misread as அ

9 திருக்குடைக்கு

10 Read த¹ ல (r) ஸீவெலி² ம

11 Read வைச்சுவெலி, தன³ னும் (Skt. வெ⁴ உ⁵ உ⁶)

12 Read செதுதெ.

13 Read திருப்பள்ளிதாயம், தன⁴ னு

14 Read நானுழி

15 Cancel ம.

16 Read திருப்பா¹ (சு) - னியெழு² (ம)

17 Read உவச்சுகள

Fourth plate first side

- 26 பெரோனறின்னு அரி யிருநாழி அரி¹ செநநதாக பொ எழின்னும் பதினெழு
நாழி ²அரி சசொறும் கொடுத்த நெராவருவிது [11¹] பெபபு ²கழிபபு-
முன [பொ] ஞாண்டில மெச்சாநகி நம்பித்தெ
- 27 கொள்ளும் அச்சு இரண்டும் கிழ(ர)ச்சாநதியிடு கொள்ளும் அச்சு ஒன்று-
ம வார்ப்பினிடு கொள்ளும் அச்சு ஒன்றும் பள்ளித்தாயத்திடு³ கொ-
ள்ளும் அச்சு ஒன்னும் கூடு⁴ - அச்சு
- 28 அஞ்சும் முன்றெ ஆண்டில் நடுவழியிடு⁵ முவாண்டாழி கூடி சிரிகாரியம்
செயிவின்றெ கொயிமமாரும் ஊராளும் கூடி ⁶தங்கநெருஞ வக கூலி-
யிடு⁷ கொள்ளாதெ
- 29 ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தில் வைப்பிச்சு பட்டாரககரெக்கு வெண்டும் பாததிரத்தின்-
னும் அழிவினனும் கொளவிதாகவும் கற்பிச்சு [11¹] இச்சிலவு ஓராண்-
டில் இரிருவரு கூடி செலத்துமாரும் கலப்பிச்சிது [11¹]
- 30 இச்சிலவு முட்டுவிதாகல் ஊராமமயெ விட்டு பொவிதாகவும் [11¹] பட்டா-
ர[கா⁸] கொள்ள தோமமின்னும் ஸ்ரீகொவிலகும்⁹ மொருத்தம் வ-
ரும்பொ தவிடு கூடி நினறு

Fourth plate second side

- 31 'பரிபிராதா வந அறதல [11¹] முதலாண்டு செலத்தும ஊராளரு பொ கு-
றறம்பள்ளிச சுவாகரன தாமொதிரனும் பின்னங்காட்டு நாராயணன் ஸ்ரீ-
குமாரனும் இரண்டாமாண்டி வாரணக்கொட்டத்து
- 32 தெவநாராயணனும் குளங்காட்டு தெவடு¹ கொட்டனும் முன்றாமாண்டு பு-
துவாகக ஸ்ரீராம¹⁰ நதகுத்தனும் வாவுகாட்டு ¹¹திராதன தெவனும்
நாலாமாண்டு விலக்கிலிமங்கலத்து தாமொதிரன கிருட்டனும்
- 33 கழுக்குசெரி சத்திவிக்கிரமனும் அய்யாமாண்டு மகழஞ்செரி விக்கிரம நாராய-
ணனும் வஞ்ஞிபபுழை ருத்திரன சங்கானும் இம்மாராகமே சிலவு சிலத்-
தி இவர் ஒருத்தரினில் முததபுத்திர அதிகாரம் செலுத்தி-
- 34 வருவிதும்¹² [11¹] ஸ்ரீவீரதெவ¹³ மாராததாண்டவாமம் திருவடி நகருநில்
செங்ககழு¹⁴ வீரமங்கலத்து சமாரநாராயணனிடடு¹⁵ விலயில கொண்-
ட கிழக்காண்டொரவி¹⁶ பதின்பறெ வித்துபாடும் ஸ்ரீயில முநநுறு பற

1 Read உரிச்சொருக and உரிச்சொறும்.

2 பெயாபபு கழிபபு or ஒப்புகழிபபு முன்றெ ஆண்டில்

3 Read பள்ளித்தாமத்திடு.

4 Probably நடவடியிடு or நாடுவாழியிடு² as in l. 9 above.

5 Thus may perhaps be தங்கநெருஞ or தங்கனக்கொள்ள as in l. 43 of the Mamballu plates

6 Read கூலியிக.

7 It is not possible to make this out, it may be முறைகுறறம்

8 This may probably be பரியரியாதெ வரு அருது

9 Read தெவந கொவனும்

10 See footnote 1 on page 79 ante

11 See footnote 2 on page 79 ante

12 Read வருவிது or வருவதாகவும்

13 Read ஸ்ரீவீர உதயமாராத.

14 Read செங்ககழுநாமம்

15 Cancel ட

16 Probably கிழக்குண்டாரவி

35) நிலை ¹கூறிக் கொடுத்த கரிகினற மெக்காணத்தூர் பூமி முப்பற வித்து
பாடு ²கூ டெ நிலம் பதிமுப்பற வித்துபாடு ³அதினனு ⁴நடும காடும

[இது ⁵முதல் ⁶வரை செம்பு பட்டபம் சம கண்டு எழுதியது]⁷

[Fifth plate missing]

Sixth plate first side

[நெத்து பட்டபம் வந்திட்டிலலா -கூ மது-]

- 16) நிலம் இடங்காழியால் எழுநாழி வித்துபாடு ¹எணநிலம் பதினொருபற
விததுபாடு ²தொட்டிக்கொடு நிலம் அயிம்பற வித்துபாடு ³மண்ணடி
நிலம்
- 17) பாழாறு இடங்காழியால் அஞ்ஞாழி வித்துபாடு ⁴தடாங்கொடு நிலம் பந்திரு
பாடு ⁵விததுபாடு ⁶வெட்டிக்கொடு நிலம் நாப்பற வித்துபாடு ⁷
வெட்டிய, ததுகண்டம் ஒருபற இடங்காழியால் யிருநாழி
- 18) ⁸பந்தி விததுபாடு ⁹பெருமபறயூர் நிலம் ஒருபற வித்துபாடு ¹⁰செங்கூறு நி-
லம் பதினாற்பற வித்துபாடு ¹¹செறுமாவெலிநிலம் அயிம்பற வித்துபா-
டு ¹²மண்ணடக்க நிலம் முப்பற வித்துபாடு ¹³செறுகடமண⁷
- 19) நிலம் ஸாப்பா விததுபாடு ¹⁴கிர்த்திமங்கலம் பதிம்பற வித்துபாட்டிம் ¹⁵மெல
பாட்டெட் ¹⁶கொள்ளும் ¹⁷நெல யிருபத்தொருபறயும் ¹⁸அஞ்சளிகொள்ள
தாநிபதினா அயிம்பற வித்துபாடு ¹⁹ஆக நிலம்
- 50) பதினாழி பாழால் ஒரு நாற்றெழு பற வித்துபாடு ²⁰இவயூ ²¹எல்லாற்றினும்
²²தள்ள காரும் கரையும் கரப்புரயிடவும் ஆளும் மிகு குநலத்தூர் ²³கண்ட-
வந்திதிரனுட் ²⁴அகிகாரரு கொண்டய

1 Probably கூறிக் கொடுத்த [கூ?] பாடுகொடு.

2 Read பகூர்.

3 The portion in brackets indicates that the preceding is a true copy of the first four sheets of a set of copper plates.

4 This remark in the cadjan copy indicates that the fifth plate of the set is missing and that the following is a transcript from the sixth plate onwards.

5 There is some mistake in the name of the land.

6 Read பெருமபறயூர்.

7 செறுகெடுமண occurs in l. 11 of the Mambalī plate of Virākēralavarman, and செறுகுழிமண் in l. 57.

8 Read பாட்டக.

9 This may possibly refer to அஞ்ஞாவிவாரம்.

10 Read இவை எல்லாவற்றினும்.

11 Read கண்ட வந்திதிரனுட்.

Sixth plate second side

- 51 தொமம் எப்பொப்பட்டதும் கூட கீழ்ப்பெருநா திருப்பாற்ககடலப்பட்டார-
காக¹ தச்சுநதாமாறு தெவரு காமமிகளோடு கூடா² விட்டுக் கொடுந-
து³ கீழிலம்⁴ பொ மெலப்பாதியும் விட⁵
- 52 சக்கி ஒளது கொண்டு தச்சு பண்ணுமாறும் கலப்பிச்சு ஓலயும் எழுதி ஸ்ரீ-
பண்டாரத்திலிட்டிது [11⁶] முந்நாறறுநாலப்பத்தொன்றமாண்டெ சிங்-
வநாயு ஒன்று சென்ற நாள ஆநாடு சிவித்ததில்⁷ வக மிளிர்⁸
- 53 ப் புழி யிருபதுபற வித்துபாடும இதின்னு⁹ நடுடெ காடும் கரயும் கரப்பு-
ரயிடமும எப்பொப்பட்டதும் வெம்பாய¹⁰ கூனறஞ் சிவித்ததில் கண்ட-
மங்ஙலத்தினெக்கொள்ள தொடமுடெ காரியத்திட மெடெ¹¹ ஆண்டு-
- 54 ஸெர கொளளும் நெல் பதினபறயும் நெற்பாடு சிவித்ததில் கிளமனைக்கு ஒ-
ளள தொமமிமெல கொண்டுவுரும் நெல் பதினபறயும் மெல்பபடியில்
மெலச்செரி கண்டன இரவிக கொளள தொமமினமெல
- 55 கொண்டுவுரும் நெல் பதினபறயும் மெலூக்கொளள தொமமினமெல மெ-
லப்படியில் கொளளும் நெல் பதினபறயும் ஆனாடு செறுவலளக்ககாத¹²-
ரன தொமமினமெல் கொண்டுவுரும் நெல் பதினபறயும்

Seventh plate first side

- 56 ஆக ஆண்டுவுரயும் பதினாழிபறயால கொண்டுவுரும் நெல் அயம்பதுபற-
ச¹³ செருதும் வரு¹⁴ மிளியூ நிலம் யிருபதுபற வித்துபாடுங் காடுங் கரயு-
ம் கரெபுரயிடவும கூட ஸ்ரீவிரவதெவ¹⁵ மாததாண்டவாமம் திருவடி-
- 57 க கமெஞ்ச அதிகாரா ஸிலயில கொண்டு கிடநமமாரக்கமெ கீழ்ப்பெருநா தி-
ருப்பாற்ககடல் பட்டாரகாக்கு சாந்திசெய்யும்¹⁶ இரவியா கீழ்ச்சாந்திக்கு
¹⁶நிரத்தியாக ஆசநதிரவா கற்பிச்சிது [11⁸] முந்நாறறுநாலா-

1 Probably செலவினமாறு as in l. 72 of the Mamball plates of Virakēlavaman, but it is not certain. It may also be *tachchu* (skt. *Dikshā*?) as in *Tachchudāya-lakṣmī*.

2 Read கூடி.

3 Read கொடுத்த.

4 This is not clear, it may perhaps be கீழியக்கம் as on page 91 of the *L. A. S.*, Vol. IV

5 Read விட்டுநகி

6 Read சிவித்ததில்

7 This occurs as வருமிளியூ in line 56 below

8 Read படுங்.

9 Read வெம்பாயக்குன்றஞ்.

10 Read மெல but the expression occurs in other places as தொமமினமெல

11 Probably செறுவனைக் கொளள.

12 அயம்பதுபறசு செய்தும்.

13 This occurs as வகமிளியூ in l. 52 above but here it may be செ மிளியூ

14 Read வீர உதயமாததாண்ட.

15 Read இரு யிரா or இருவா

16 Read விருத்தியாக.

- 58 மண்ணடை¹ மெட்டுநாயு மூன்று சென்ற-நாள்-முல்லக்கல கெருளன்² ஆகிச-
சவாமமல³ நீழ்கை சிறெயூரக்கலில் ஓற்றிகொண்டதிகரிககின்ற நிலம்
அடிமயாலகொடு⁴ 5தின⁵ அயிம்ப⁶ற வித்துபாடும⁷ மலெக்கலில்
- 59 'மூத்தநைநற்ப்பொர நிலம் அயிம்பது பறெ வித்துபாடும செயூர⁷மெடுடு
முனி நிலம் யிருபது பற வித்துபாடும ஆகயில்⁸ எனபததனபறெ வித்-
துபாடினு உடென் ஆண்டுவரயும் அதிகாராகு கொடுக்குமாறு
- 60 கற்பிச்ச⁹ சென பதி[ன]¹⁰ பறயால ஆறுபறெ⁹ செவதும் ஆண்டு வரயும்
தி[ரு]¹¹ பபராகுடலப பட்டாரகாகு மெச்சாரதி செயயும்வாககு மெ-
லசாரதி விரு,ததிககு முன்னம் சிறெயூரக்கலு

Seventh plate second side.

- 61 மருதூர மண்டொடி மெடு¹⁰ கலபிச்ச நெலவினு¹¹ பகரமகிரத்தி வக-
யிட¹² கொடுதது¹² ஆண்டுவரயும் நெல ஆறுபறயும் அளவு கொடுத்தது
கெவரு கறம்பிகள எழுத்தினுல குறியும் கொண்டு-
- 62 வாருமாறம் இசிலவு மூன்றுடெ¹³ முடங்கில முட்டிரட்டியும் இரண்டு துடெ
முடங்கில முட்டிரட்டியும்¹⁴ தண்டவும் மூன்று முடங்கில¹⁴ கெருளன்²
ஆகியர்-
- 63 வயாமக்கொள்ள தொமமு¹⁵ எனபததயிம்பறயும் வித்துபாடு ஆண்டுவரயும்
நெல ஆறுபறயும் கொடுக்கவதும்¹⁵ மெச்சாரதி விருத்திககு அளவு
கொள்ளுமாறம் அளவு கொடுக்குமாறம் கற்பிச்ச ஸீபண்டாரத்தில
- 64 ஸீபையும் எழுதி யிட்டது [11]¹⁶ டெ மீதுனஞாயறு காடவக-
குடநிலைக்கு மெலத்திலதமங்கலத்தது தெவன இரவிக்கு இளம்பெல
கொயிமாரொடு வளக்கு¹⁷ நாவடு கயினறு
- 65 மொள்ள மகாமமு¹⁸ பப்பொப்பட்டதும்¹⁸

- 1 Read மாணடை as in other places
- 2 Read சேரளன்
- 3 The correct name is not known.
- 4 Read பதின அயிம்பறெ which gives the total 85 para in the next line
- 5 Read முலசச்சலில் as in line 58
- 6 There seems to be some mistake in the name.
- 7 Read perhaps மெட்டுக்குழி மெடுங்குழி²
- 8 Read ஆகயில் எனப⁸
- 9 நாறுபறெ செனதும
- 10 Read மருதூர மண்டொடிமெல
- 11 It means 'after settling the equivalent'
- 12 Read கொடுத்தது.
- 13 Read ஒரு துடெ where துடெ is an incorrect form of தடை. It occurs also as தடை in the Vellam inscription (Vol. III, p. 36)
- 14 துடெ is omitted after மூன்று, the penalty for the third default is not clearly expressed
- 15 Read perhaps கொடுக்கவதும்.
- 16 The year has been left out
- 17 This is unintelligible, நாவடு may be a misreading for நாடு. கயினறெடி occurs in the Tiruvalla plates as a land-name.
- 18 The cadjan copy stops here

No. 25—Tiruvīdāṅḡodu Inscription of Kollam 864.

This inscription is engraved on a stone set up near the Mosque at Tiruvīdāṅḡodu and relates to the construction of a shed at Puḍūr for the convenience of strangers and registers a gift of land and *purayyadam* for its proper upkeep. The inscription is in the Tamil language and alphabet and its wording is rather very loose and redundant, as is the case with later epigraphs.

Text.¹

First face

- 1 ஹர்நலநக [1*]
- 2 சந்தத்தி ஸ்பாழ்-
- 3 ம்நை, கொல்லம்
- 4 அர[1*]செ ஹ்மம் க-
- 5 ழி ம்ம உற்ச செனற
- 6 புநனசையும
- 7 மகயிரமும் ஸ்னவ-
- 8 பகசிஷத்து திறைப-
- 9 ரதெய்யும் சுபபி-
- 10 றமாந்ததிபாக-
- 11 மும் இநநாஸல்
- 12 புதுலூதெசத்த
- 13 சணககு தெவனிர-
- 14 வியும் பளளிச-
- 15 சல் ஈசசுவரன
- 16 ஈசசுவரனும் பெ-
- 17 ர[ல்லா]பிளையா-
- 18 ன பிளையா லும்
- 19 ஷெ தெசத்து புது-
- 20 லூ அம்பலம் கெ-
- 21 டடி முகிககையில பெ-
- 22 சழ்ம குறைப்பணி-
- 23 யும் முகிசுச தானபபி-
- 24 றமாணமாக விட்டுருத்த
- 25 நிலம்[1*] புதுலூ தெ-
- 26 சத்து ஷெ குளத்தின
- 27 கீழ் நீருண்டு உ விரை-
- 28 யு முருக்கறை தடி க உ
- 29 ன ப—யும் ஷெ கண்ட-
- 30 சசை குளத்தின
- 31 [கீழ்] பிளையான
- 32 பிளையான ஓற-
- 33 [தத]ன நா[ரா]யணன

Second face

- [One line damaged]
 34 கொண்ட
 35 நடுவில் நிலம்
 36 ந ப - கரு எலகை
 37 ஆவிது [1*] உபபு-
 38 ததலறங்கும ச
 39 நமப [1*] தைக தம்
 40 நடுவில் நிலம்
 41 ந ப - கரு எலகை [1*] ரு
 42 கோபுரங்கும
 43 நால்கை [1*] னை-
 44 க உழப்பட்ட
 45 நடுவில் நில-
 46 ம ந ப - கரு எலகை
 47 ருக்கறை - தடி
 48 க [1*] நால-
 49 எலகை உ-
 50 ப்பப்பட்ட நிலம்
 51 ந ப - கரு எலகை
 52 தடி இரண-
 53 டிணை நிலம்
 54 க ப - கரு எலகை
 55 அம்பலத்துக்கு
 56 கரு விட்டு குரு-
 57 ததா [1*] நில-
 58 ம காடும
 59 கரையும
 60 முருகக[றை]
 61 விழாகம் உ-
 62 [1*] ந-
 63 ரலனகை
 64 உழப்பட்ட

Third face.

- 65 முருககறை விழாகம் பு-
 66 ரையடம் மண்ணடங்-
 67 க மரமடங்க தடி இர-
 68 ண்டிணை நிலம் சுப-யும
 69 முருககறை விழாகம்
 70 புரையடம்மும[1*] கை-
 71 யார கெட்டி முக-
 72 சச அம்பலத்துக்கு த-
 73 னபபிறமாணமா-
 74 க நிலம் சு ப - யும பு-
 75 ரையடம் ஒன்றும் த-

- 76 ரைப பி ரட்டானம்-
 77 ரக விட்டு சலபும
 78 வெட்டி நாட்டிகு-
 79 நெதாரகன [1⁺] தெவன
 80 இரங் முதல பெரும
 81 பள்ளிச்சல் ரசுசு-
 82 வரன ரசுசுவரனு-
 83 ம அய்யப்பன் மா-
 84 டப்பன் முதல பெ-
 85 ரும தானபயிறமா-
 86 னாமாக பிரமரங்கு-
 87 ழியில் மெற்கு தெசுகு ஆக
 88 நிக்ரும குற்றிமரம ஒன்று
 89 கூட கலலுவெட்டி நாட்டி
 90 கருத்தத . . [1⁺] . .
 91 ககில் போகிற . ண்டாம
 92 சிலமும புரையிடமும
 93 பா விசுசுககொண்டு த-
 94 [ன்]டம இறுத்தினபடி த-
 95 ண்ணிரும [சுண்ண] மபு-
 96 ம குடுத்து அமபலத்தில
 97

Fourth face.

- 98 சாவடியும
 99 கெட்டிப்பெ-
 100 ணிவைச்சு-
 101 கொண்டு இ-
 102 ருக்கையில
 103 இந்நிலத்தினு-
 104 ம புரையிட-
 105 ததினு தடை-
 106 இடைக்க .
 107 ருகில் செ தெ-
 108 சதது நாலு பெ-
 109 பருவ கூடி த-
 110 டை தித்து குடு-
 111 கருமாறும [1^{*}]இ-
 112 நநில*]ததினும பு-
 113 ரயடத்தினும
 114 பரதர ஒருவ-
 115 ர ஆகிலும இர-
 116 ணடகம் நி[ரை]-
 117 னக்கி[னற] பெரா பெ-
 118 கங்கைக்கரை-
 119 யில[நி]ன்று
 120 காராம ப-

- 121 கையதெறி [ர] -
 122 கையதெறி [ர] -
 123 கையதெறி [ர] -
 124 கையதெறி [ர] -
 125 கையதெறி [ர] -
 126 கையதெறி [ர] இய்ய -
 127 கையதெறி [ர] -
 128 கையதெறி [ர] -
 129 கையதெறி [ர] -
 130 கையதெறி [ர] -
 131 கையதெறி [ர] -
 132 கையதெறி [ர] -
 133 கையதெறி [ர] -
 134 . . .
 135 . . .

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well ! On this day *v. e.*, the 24th expired of the month of Mārgaṣīrṣi in the Kollam year 864 in which Jupiter stood in Simha, a Wednesday the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight which had Mūgaśīrṣha-nakṣatra and Subhadrakṛmā-vōga, Dēvaṇ-īraṇi, the accountant of Puḍuvūr, Ichchuvāraṇ of Paḷlicchal and Pollappillai *alias* Pillaiyān, who took up the construction of the *ambalam* (temple) at Puḍuvūr, completed the balance of work and made the following gifts of land: --

(1) The paddy-yielding land called Murukkarai fed by the tank in Puḍuvūr-deśam, 1 *tadi* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of three *kuruni*,

(11) the middle (block of) land within the four peg-marked boundaries (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuruni* watered by Kandachchaikulam and obtained from Orattan-Narayanan, the son of Pillaiyān, *v. e.*, the three *kuruni* of land lying between Upputtarai and Śenamparai

Thus the lands, *viz.*, the middle peg-marked block (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuruni* and the land called the Murukkarai, which is 1 *tadi* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuruni*—altogether, lands (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kuruni* these lands were assigned to the said temple inclusive of *nilam*, *kadu*, *karai*, Murukkarai-vilāgam with its four boundaries, and the soil of and trees on the *puraiyidam* called the Murukkarai-vilāgam-puraiyidam. These lands (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kuruni* comprised in two *tadi* and Murukkarai-vilāgam-puraiyidam, were given as charity to the shed built by the said persons, and they had the gift engraved on stone and had it setup.

Dēvaṇ-īraṇi, Ichchuvāraṇ-īchchuvāraṇ of Paḷlicchal, Avvappan-Māḍappan and others also gave as charity the *kurri* tree, which lies in the west and south of Piramāṅguli.

If while in enjoyment of these two lands and the *puraiyidam*, they conduct the charity supplying water and chunam and . . . in a *hāradi* built in the *ambalam*, and any impediment or obstruction arise to the said lands and *puraiyidam*, the four persons of the said village shall meet and jointly free the impediment.

If any one think evil to these lands and *paraigdam*, he shall incur the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges

Thus agreeing, these lands and *paraigdam* were given as charity, accompanied by a deed which was engraved on a stone and set up

No. 26—Tiruvidangodu Inscription of Kollam 628.

The subjoined inscription is engraved in Vatteluttu on a stone set up near the girls' school at Tiruvīdāṅgōdu. On the importance of this document, the following note has been made in the Annual Report for 1896 M. R.—

“It tells us that there existed sharp differences between the two communities of Vellāṇḍar and Vellālar from times earlier than the date of the record *i. e.*, Kollam 628, Śittirai 9, leading even to a cleavage and to the adoption of such measures as were calculated to provoke a complete estrangement of the two sects. The inscription registers a social ostracism passed by the Vellālar against the Vellāṇḍar for some offence committed by the latter. This order is further stated to be in accordance with two other previous stone epigraphs on the same subject. It lays down that the Vellāṇḍar should not be allowed to take in marriage any girls from the Tamil parts, that they should not be engaged even for cooly wages, that they should not be made to write public accounts or to manage the administration of the country, and that they should not enter in to any kind of transactions with them. At the end of the inscription is given a list of 23 persons who committed the offence which gave rise to this piece of drastic legislation, and it is said that these 23 persons should be put to death wherever found. It may be thought that by Vellāṇḍar, persons belonging to the modern *nāḍār* sect are meant. In this connection it is worth remembering that in the first of the clauses given above *viz.*, that the Vellāṇḍar should not be allowed to marry girls from the Tamil country shows clearly that the two sects could intermarry before. Besides, all through the record the word used is *nāḍar* and not *nāḍār*. As such, we may assume that the latter community is not meant by the inscription. The Vellāṇḍar who have to be regarded as equal in their social status to the Tamil Vellālar and as having marital connections with them prior to the commission of the offence, should have been so termed from the country (*nāḍu*) whence they originally hailed; and it is not unlikely that country is in South Travancore.”

A similar record exists at Kalhidaikkurichchi in the Tinnevely District.

Text.¹

- 1 வல்லித் துணி [11*] நன்றாக
- 2 கொலலம் கூடலர் அ-
- 3 டாமாண்டு சித்தரை
- 4 மாதம் கூட முன-
- 5 னுள நாட்டிய க-
- 6 ல்லு இரண்டு [லு] ம வெ-

1 Registered as No. 67 of the Trav. Epig Colln for 1896 M. R.

- 7 ளளாழறை வெள்ளாட-
 8 ா பிழைக்கையாலே நாட-
 9 டிய கலவினு படி எ-
 10 தெதகண்ணமே இப-
 11 பொது வெள[ளா]ழறை வெ-
 12 ளளநாடா பிழைக்க-
 13 யாலே வெள்ளாடா
 14 தமிழ்ப பாகததுப பெண-
 15 ணை கெட்டருதென னும
 16 கைய்யாளருதென னும ந-
 17 மமொடுகூடக கூ-
 18 லிசசெவகம செவிக-
 19 கருதென னும காரண-
 20 பபட அருதென னு-
 21 ம காரியா பறைய
 22 அருதென[¹னு]ம கணக்கெ-
 23 முதருதென னுந தெச-
 24 ம கைய்யாள அரு-
 25 தென னும கலப்பி-
 26 சசு [¹னு]பிழைக்கவா-

Second face.

- 27 க க பொ-
 28 வழி பறு
 29 வன அகவ-
 30 நகர னும
 31 அடிய[¹ப]பன
 32 மாததாண்ட னு-
 33 ம குமரன
 34 ராமனும அ-
 35 ய்யப்பா-
 36 ண்டபும மா-
 37 ததாண்ட மழ-
 38 வராய னும
 39 [னு]மபிசசல்
 40 மாததாண்ட ம-
 41 முவராய னும
 42 நமபன தெர-
 43 ண்டைமா னும
 44 செதொ மாததா-
 45 ண்டபணிக்க-
 46 னும காரை கு-
 47 நறனும கொட-
 48 டா முதலியா-
 49 னும பாப்ப-
 50 ன பாப்பன் ம-
 51 ககள் இரண்டு

Third face.

- 52 பெரும படைச்சு-
 53 உ முத்தையானும்
 54 மாலம்பி னிரப-
 55 பராசசம்பி பெ-
 56 ஞாநாயா அப்பன
 57 பாபபனும் மாத்தாண-
 58 டனும் ஆருசெம்பி-
 59 பணிககனும் சடை-
 60 பன் கொலையும வ-
 61 எவன(ன்) கண்ணனும்
 62 இமி[க]ம் முருகனும்
 63 சுவத்து இ[ராமன]ம்
 64 அகப்பொ [உரு]ம கண்-
 65 [ெ]ட்டத்து கொலனுமரறு
 66 கலப்பச்சுது [11*]

Translation.

Hail ' Prosperity ' Be it well ' On this day, the 9th of the month of Śittirai in the Kollam year 628, as the Vellanādar offended the Vellālar, the following stipulations are ordered, just as they were adopted in two stone inscriptions set up on a previous occasion, when the (same) Vellanādar had offended the Vellālar:—

The Vellanādar should not marry girls from the Tamil parts neither should they keep them They should not do even cooly service with us. They should not transact any business with us They should not write (our) accounts or be allowed to manage the administration of (our) villages.

The list of persons who offended (in the present instance) are.—
 Śuvangaran, Ayyappan-Mārttāndan, Kumāran-Rāman, Ayyappāndai, Mārttānda-Malavarāyan, Tumbichcha-Mārttānda Malavarāyan, Namban Tondaimān, Śēdō Mārttānda-Panikkaṇ, Kārai-Kunran, Kōttur-Mudaliyan, Parpan, the two sons of Parpan-Paduchchul-Muttayan, Māmbi, Nīrappara-Īchchambi, Pērūr-Nāyar, Ayyan-Pappan, Mārttāndan, Ārusembi-Panikkaṇ, Śadaiyan-Kōḍai, Valayan-Kanman, Imigan-Murugan, Tūvattu Irāman

In all, (these) twenty-three persons are ordered to be put to death wherever seen

APPENDIX.

PAGE.	KOLLAM DATES AND THEIR ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS.
13	Śaka 1691, Kollam 945, Vñōdham, Arpaśi 23, Sunday, Uttirādam śu 7. =A. D. 1769, Sunday, November 5, f d t. 03, 43.
27	Kollam 925, Tai 5, Saturn in Vriśchika, Jupiter in Mīna, Wednesday, śu. 7 =A. D. 1750, Wednesday, January 3; 76; (Rēvatī 86).
44	Kollam 278, Jupiter in Kanni, Simha 9, Details not enough for verification, but the English date may correspond to A. D. 1102, August 4, Monday, ba. 4·16, 27 54
56	Kollam 878, Idavam 7. Thursday, Rōhinī, śu. tritīyā: =A. D. 1703, Thursday, May 6. On this day <i>tritīyā</i> commenced at 95 and Rōhinī was current till 29 only. 'Idavam 7 <i>senṇa</i> ' has to be taken in the sense of 'expired', for May 6, Thursday, was Idavam 8
57	Kollam 878, Idavam 16, Saturday, Hastā, śu. ēkādaśī: =A. D. 1703, Saturday, May 15; f d t. 09, 76. Here also May 15, Saturday, was Idavam 17.
61	Kollam 240 (?), Mīna 12, Wednesday, Makayiram, pañchamī. These details are wrong for Kollam 240, which is evidently a mistake.
73	Kollam 343, Jupiter in Makaram, Mēdam 12, Thursday, Uttiram, trayōdaśī: =A. D. 1168, Thursday, April 4; but the <i>tithi</i> and <i>nakshatra</i> were respectively ba. 10·90; and 23·63.
86	Kollam 861, Mārgaśi 20, Wednesday, Makayiram, śu. 13: =A. D. 1688, Wednesday, December 19, but the <i>tithi</i> and <i>nakshatra</i> were in 7·44 and U Bhad 65, but on A. D. 1688, Monday, December 24, the <i>tithi</i> was śu 13·88 and nak. Mrig. commenced from 33 of day.

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No. 27—Keralapuram Inscriptions.

Keralapuram, which is mentioned in inscriptions as a suburb of Muttalakuruchchi, a village of Paralkōttu-dēsam in Śengalunīr-vaṇādu which was itself a sub-division of Tenpādu, is a hamlet near Padmanābhapuram. It contains a Śiva temple, whose earliest record engraved on its south-west base is dated in Kollam 491 (= A. D. 1317) in the reign of Vīra-Udayamārttāndavarman and has already been published. As the god of the temple has been called Vīrakēra-lēśvarttu-Mahādēva in this inscription and as the village also bore the name of Vīrakēralapuram *alias* Muttalaikkuruchchi, the temple and the village may be presumed to have come into existence during the reign of a king Vīrakēralavaiman who must have reigned prior to the beginning of the 14th century; *i. e.*, in all probability, either of the two Vēnādu kings of that name figuring in the Chōla puram epigraph of Kollam 302 and the Tiruvallam record of Kollam 399.

When this temple subsequently got into disrepair after the lapse of more than three or four centuries, it was renovated in Kollam 782 (= A. D. 1607) by Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman *alias* Śrī Kulāśekhara who constructed its *nālumbalam*, kitchen and *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* in stone, and finished off in brick the *vimāna* of its central shrine. The same fact is also alluded to in the Arrūr plate of Kollam 821. This Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman (Kēttai-tirunāl) is known from his Tiruvattāru inscriptions to have been the son of Umayammai-Rāni, to have belonged to the Tiruppāppūr-svarūpam and the Kīlappērur-illam and had reigned at least between the years Kollam 776 and 782; while the *State Manual* gives him, on the authority of the temple chronicles, a reign of nearly 11 years from Kollam 771 to 782.

The subjoined inscriptions engraved on several pillars of the temple are all dated in the 6th day of the month of Chittirai of Kollam 782, when the consecration ceremony of the renovated temple was performed, and when these pillars, some of them sculptured *uruttūn* and others of the variety called *chitra-kandam* were contributed as votive gifts by several private individuals connected with the temple. From the fact that the *surru-maṇḍapa* and the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* are stated to have been constructed by the king himself, according perhaps to some definite plan, it looks as if the private donors, who wanted to participate in the meritorious work of the temple's renovation, paid for these pillars after their erection and had their own donative labels incised thereon.

These pillars are described as belonging to the *chitra-kandam* variety and as some images are also sculptured on their faces, they are further classified as *chitra-kandam-uruttūn*. This type which is very common in temples is formed, as its name implies, by the combination of two or three styles, the present variety consisting of three cubical portions connected together by intermediate shafts octagonal in section, which are further variegated with floral or plain band ornamentation. The square faces of the cubes at the middle and extremities bear on them representations of men and animals, conventional floral work and geometrical patterns.

The four pillars of the *Rishabha-maṇḍapa* at its south-west, north-west, north-east and south-east corners are well sculptured in the style of the 17th century so familiar in the neighbouring districts of Madura and Tinnevely, and

represent, in order, the images respectively of Kulaśekhara-Perumāḷ Chēramān-Perumāḷ together with Sundarāmūrti, Lakshmana and Rāma, but it is deplorable that all the figures are mutilated owing to wanton neglect and ill usage. The introduction of Rāma and Lakshmana in a Śiva temple is not so uncommon as it may appear at first sight, as these complementary images were popular in this period and are found in many of the Tinnevely temples erected during the Madura Nāyakas' rule. The other two pillars bearing the representations of the two Chēra kings Kulaśekhara and Chēramān are however peculiar, and may have been fashioned at the original suggestion of king Ravivarman himself, who perhaps desired to perpetuate the memory of the two canonised Saints of his own regal line, for otherwise, it cannot be explained why the donors of these pillars, a brace of temple dancing girls and a temple-accountant, should have particularly chosen these rare representations to adorn their votive piers. Kulaśekhara, the staunch Vaishnava devotee whose hymns are brimful of his fervid faith in the one god Vishnu, must have deprecated the Travancore king's patriotism which stationed him in front of a Śaiva shrine.

The *Rishabha-mandapa* is the square hall just in front of the sanctum in Śiva temples, in which is installed an image of the *Rishabha* or bull, the vehicle of that god. The Sanskrit word *Rishabha* is transformed into *ṛāpa* and *ṛhapa* in these inscriptions, by the common substitution of *la* for *sha* as in *sēlam* for *sēsham* etc., while the initial vowel *i* which is introduced in the Tamil rendering of Sanskrit words beginning with *ri*, ought to have given the equivalent *rushabha*. *Mandapa* has assumed the vulgar form of *mandaka* and *ṛāna* which can reasonably change into *ṛyāna* as *dēyam* from *dēsam*, has here become *ṛyānta*.

Inscription A records that on the 6th day of the month of Chittirai in the Kollam year 782, the pillar bearing the image of Kulaśekhara-Perumāḷ was set up in the south-western corner (*kaṇṇi-mūlai*) of the *Rishabha-mandapa* by two women Nīlammaikutti, daughter of Mādammai and Mādammai, daughter of Ichchakkutti, who belonged to the *mūttakūḍi* of dancing girls attached to the temple of Mahādeva at this village of Keralapuram, while the other inscription states that the temple-accountant, Ayyappan-Ayyappan of Parakōḍu dēsam erected on the same day the pillar of Chēramān-Perumāḷ and Sundarapperumāḷ at the north-western corner of the same *mandapa*. The other two pillars of Rāma and Lakshmana were similarly the gifts respectively of this accountant's wife Senbagamatāṇḍakutti, daughter of Nallānpillaipeṇṇal of the Suchuḍrum temple, and Nāchchayār of Vilavūr-dēsam, made on the same day.

A¹On the west base of the *Rishabha-mandapa*

- 1 மீனத்தில வியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் எராழை ஒரு சித்திரை மீர் கூட
- 2 நயினா முதத்தனாககுறிச்சியில் ஸ்ரீவிரகொளெச்சொரத்தது² மா -
- 3 தெவா கொயிலில் இழசபமண்டகத்தில் வடமேழைமீலையில்
- 4 செர(ம)மான³ பெருமானும் சுந்தரப்பெருமானும்

1 This is registered as No 54 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1093 M E

2 Read ஸ்ரீவிரகொளெச்சொரத்தது

3 Expressed by a symbol ஞ

- 5 உருததுண செய்விச்ச ஷெ மாதெவாகொயிலில தானகணக்கு-
6 டைய திருமுகமெழுதது பரக்கொட்டு தெசத்தது கணக்கு¹ அய்யன² அய்ய-
யன சதாசெவை [11*]

B³

On the same base

- 1 னாஅயெ ஹு சித்திரை கூஉ நயினா கொ(ர)ளபுரத்து
2 மாதெவா கொயிலில இழபமணடகத்தில் கன்-
3 னிழையில குலசெகரபபெருமாள்⁵ உருததுண செய-
4 வித்த மாதெவா கொயிலில முறையில் மூத்த-
5 குடியில மாதமமை மகள நீலமமைகுட்டியு-
6 ம ரசசுக்குட்டி மகள மாதமமபும சதாசெவை [11*]

C¹⁰

On the east base of the same mandapa.

- 1 னாஅயெ ஹு சித்திரை மீர் கூஉ கொளபுரத்து இஷபமணடகத்தில்
2 ரயாநத¹ மூலையில் இளையபெருமாள்² உருததுண⁶ ஷெ கொயிலில தான-
3 கணக்கு⁷ அய்யபபன¹ அய்யபபன பெண்சாதி 'சூசிரதிரமுடைய நயி-
னா
4 கொயிலில் சிறப்பு⁹ மக ல் நலலாமபிள்ளைபெற்றாள
5 மகள செமபகமாததாண்டக்கு'-டி செடவிசசது ச(ர)தாசெவை ஹரி
[11*]

D¹¹

On the same base.

- 1 மீனத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொலலம னாஅயெ ஹு
2 சித்திரை மீர் கூஉ நயினா கொளபுரத்து மாதெவா
3 கொயிலில இழபமணடகத்தில் தென்குழக்கு மூ-
4 லையில் சிராமன உருததுண செயவித்த விலவூ
5 தெசத்தது வித்திருநத நாச்சியார மகள நாச்சியார சதாசெவை ஹரி [11*]

- 1 Expressed by a symbol ஐ.
2 Expressed by a symbol
3 This is registered as No 55 of the Trav Epig. Colln for 1093 M F
4 It ought to be ஈசான.
5 Expressed by a symbol னு.
6 ,, உரு.
7 ,, கரு
8 Read சூசிரமுடைய.
9 The name சிறப்பு மகல means 'out of the eleven dancing girls who belonged to the 'ornamental' adjunct of the temple &c, for dancing and singing, as opposed the other class of maid-servants who attended to the temple's menial service
10 This is registered as No 56 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1093 M, E
11 ,, No. 58 of the same collection

No. 28.—Cheraman-Perumal.

It will be of interest to give here a short account of the life of the royal-saint Chēramān-Perumāl, because of his connection with the ancient Chēra house, and a king Rāma-varman of Travancore (1758-98) mentions him as an ancestor of his dynasty¹. The main incidents of the saint-king's biography have been succinctly summarised in a single verse² by Umāpatiśivāchārya in his *Tiruttondar-purāṇasāram*. The story as given in the *Periyapurāṇam* is as follows -

With his capital at the seaport town of Kōduṅgōlūr called also Mahōdu, whose ramparts were the high mountain ranges and whose moat was the deep sea, there reigned a powerful king named Sengōrporayan, the overlord of Malai-nādu. In a branch of this illustrious family was born prince Perumākkōdayār also called by the significant title of Kalarimariyār³ (one who understood the speech of all living beings), a pious devotee of Śiva, who had kept himself unsoiled by the dissipation of a royal court and had dedicated his life to the service of the god at Tiruvanjākkalam in tending the temple flower-gardens and in supplying garlands for the god's daily worship⁴. But when Sengōrporayan abdicated at the end of a long reign and retired to an anchorite's life, this prince was selected by the ministers to succeed to the throne and was prevailed upon with great difficulty to don the royal purple after he had obtained divine sanction for his acceptance of the exalted office.

He was of such a pious disposition that when, on his preliminary royal entry into the capital, he came across a washerman whose body was whitened with Fuller's earth (*warman*), he made obeisance to the man in the thought that he was a Śaiva *bhakta* smeared with the holy ashes and that his appearance was a timely reminder to himself from on high to persevere in his pious life. On another occasion, it is said that Śiva sent a poet-musician called Bāpabhadra from Madura with a letter of introduction⁵ to him that the bearer should be patronised and well-rewarded with riches and that the king, who was immensely pleased with the high honor that this Divine commission implied, even went to the length of offering his whole kingdom to the god's protegee. His devotion towards god Natarāja of Chidambaram grew in intensity and the great Dancer used to reward his piety by enabling him to

1 यद्वंशचरित्रपतिर्भद्रापुरीशपत्रार्पणेन कनक प्रददावसङ्ख्यम् ।

तत्तुनवायकुलभक्तजनाय भूयात् स श्रेयसे निखिलराजकुलप्रदीपः ॥

Bālarāmabharatam, (T. A. S. Vol. IV, p. 109)

2 காவலரம் கோதையார் கொடுங்கோளாககோக கழறியவை யறிந்தகோச சிலம்போரை கருநாநா
நாவலர்கோ ண்பாபடிச சேரனென்றே நவீனறுவரும் வண்ணனை நயந்தகோநற
பாவலர்கோப பாணபத திரஞல வாயந்த பரமாதிரு முகமவாங்கிப பணிகோவெறயி
மேவியகோ வாணக்குக குதிரைவைத்த வீரகோ வெனையாளுகு சேரர்கோவே

Tiruttondar-purāṇa-sāram, v. 42

3 நீனைத்தன கொடுகவலலா ணிலத்தயிர் கழறுகு சொறக

ணைக்கதடி மறிந்திரங்கு மன்புடைச சேரமன்காண.—*Tiruvalluvar-purāṇam*.

4 சிலமிருமலை நாடுவாழ கொடுங்கோளா, சிறந்த செங்கோற கோதையார் செலவா திருவரு காயிறை
மெலையி பணிந்திட, செய்யபொறை யனறவ முற.—*Tiruttondar-satakam*.

5 This verse beginning with 'மதிமலிபுரிசை' is the first piece in the *Padinjōranturumayam*.

hear the tinkling rhythm of his golden anklets (*porśilambu*) at the end of his daily *pūjā*¹. Failing, however, to hear this accustomed token on a particular day, the king was very much disheartened and would have stabbed himself to death, if Natarāja had not intervened in time to save His votary from an unnatural end. He then learnt that the beautiful hymns sung by the arch-devotee Sundaramūrti in the temple at Chidambaram were so enthralling as to make the god forget his accustomed token to the Chēra king. This incident was a turning point in the life of Chēramān and thenceforward his ardour grew, if anything, more fervid and he was filled with a longing to visit not only Chidambaram the abode of his favourite deity, but also pay homage to the great soul whose songs had kept Śiva spell-bound.

Accordingly he set out from his capital and after passing through the Kongu-nādu, through which lay in those days one of the highways between the eastern districts and Maku-mandalam, finally reached Chidambaram, where the divine vision which was vouchsafed him evoked a fitting response in the poem named the *Ponnannattandādi*². He then proceeded to Tiruvārūr, the headquarters of Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār, and formed with him a memorable friendship which, while earning for the latter the sobriquet of 'Chēramānrōlan', continued unabated in its sincerity till the simultaneous and mysterious exit of both of them from Tiruvañjaikalam. After having composed the *Tirumummanukkōvai*³ in honour of god Valmīkanātha during his short stay at Tiruvārūr, the Chēra king then accompanied Sundara on an extensive tour of pilgrimage to many holy temples of Śiva in the Chōla and Pāndya kingdoms, among which are mentioned Kīlvēlu, Nāgaikkarōnam, Tirumamakkādu (Vēlāmpaiyā), Palanam, Agastyanpalli, Kulagai-Kodikkōyil, Tiruppattūr, Madurai, Tiruppūvanam, Tiruvāppanūr, Tiruvēdagam, Tirupparangunram, Kurālam, Kurumbalā, Tirunelvēli, Rāmēśvaram, Tiruchchuliyal, Kamappēr, Tiruppunavāyil, Pātālēśvaram, Tirukkandiyūr and Tiruvaiyyāru. Both the friends then cut across the Kongudēsam and reached Kodungōlūr, where Chēramān entertained Sundara with such pomp and respect as was befitting to the renowned boy-saint.

After a short congenial stay at the Chēra capital, Sundara finally took leave of his royal friend and reached Tiruvārūr loaded with many costly presents and jewels, after undergoing a miraculous adventure with banditti *en route* at Tirumuruganpūndi in the Coimbatore District. Some time later, Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār paid a second visit to his Chēra friend, after augmenting his fame on the way by the performance of a miracle of the resurrection of a brahman boy at Tirupukkoliyūr (Coimbatore District), and was received with huge ovations by the people of Tiruvañjaikalam and their king. While Sundaramūrti was thus staying in the Chēra capital, god Śiva, it is stated, sent a white elephant to fetch³ the

1

— மமயற்கு

காமசிலம்பின் சாதனநிறுது அணையணிகழ் தினது
காமசிலம்பு சேட்ட திருச்சாதேரநாம

— Tiruvārūr

2

Thus is collected in the *Padanō āmbarumai*

3

கனையாவுடலோடு சேரமாணுரான
யினையாமதமாறு வெள்ளாணைமேல் கொள்ள

— Kōyil-Tirumaiappā, v. 4.

saint back to his original abode Kailāsa, and in obedience to that holy mandate he prepared to start heavenwards; but before setting out, his commiserating thoughts strayed for a moment towards his royal comrade whom he had to leave behind. Chēramān-Perumāl, who was taking his bath at his palace at that time, vaulted on a horse and rushing to the spot where the elephant was marching with its precious burden, respectfully circumambulated his friend and after muttering the mystic formula of the *pañchākshara* into the horse's ear, rose into the air leading the way in front to Mount Kailāsa. The loyal servants of the Chēra king, who had witnessed their master mounting heavenwards, waited till he was lost to sight and despairing of his return killed themselves by falling on their upright swords, like the true warriors that they were. On reaching the Silver Mountain, Chēramān-Perumāl gained audience of Śiva through the recommendation of his friend and sang on that occasion the poem called the *Tirukkailāyaññāna-ulā*¹ (called also the *Ādi-ulā*), which received the god's imprimatur. This poem is said to have been transmitted to this world by a certain Māsattanār² who had heard it chanted on the slopes of Kailāsa, while the publicity given to the songs that Sundara hymned forth on his way to the Holy Mount is attributed to Varuna, the lord of the oceans.

Perumilalai-Kurumbar, one of the sixty-three devotees, also killed himself in his own place in order to join Sundara on Kailāsa. Auvai, who is said to have been the sister of Chēramān-Perumāl also reached Kailāsa on this occasion.

Now as regards the period when Chēramān-Perumāl flourished, its determination is confronted with the usual difficulties attendant on similar questions, namely, that the available materials are so superimposed with much that is purely traditional and supernatural that there is no safe historical foundation to proceed upon. The sources from which such information can be collated may be classified as follows —

- (i) tradition current in Malabar regarding this king, as recorded in the *Kēralōlpatti*;
- (ii) the biographical sketches of this king and of Sundaramūrti, Viṇamindar, Kōtpuliyār, Maṇakkañjārar, Ēyarkōṇ-Kaḥkkāmaṇār, Perumilalai-Kurumbar, and Sōmāsiyar, who were his contemporaries according to the *Periyapurāṇam*;
- (iii) the *Tiruvilaiyādarpurāṇam* of Parañjōtiyār, which mentions the depuration of the lutist Bānabhadra to this Chēra's court as the 55th of the sixty-four divine sports of god Sundarēśa of Madura; and
- (iv) other miscellaneous references.

(i) *The Kēralōlpatti*, a Malayalam work of no great antiquity or authenticity purporting to be a historical chronicle of the early Kēraḷa kings, places the end of the Chēramān rule in the 5th century (A. D. 428) and relates of a certain Bāṇaperumāl, one of them, that he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca on conversion to an

1 This finds a place in the 11th *Tirumurai*.

2 *Puranānūru*, see footnote on p. 529.

alien creed. Mr Logan linking this information with the alleged discovery of a tomb-stone dated 826 A. D. supposed to record the death at Sahar-Mukhal of a certain Hindu royal convert named Abdul-Rahuman-Sāmūrī on his return journey to his native land, has tried to trace the origin of the Kollam era to this hypothetical conversion¹. Now that the institution of the era is however attributed² to the foundation of the maritime city of Kollam at about this time and that the truth about the existence and purport of the Arabian epitaph is discredited for want of definite testimony, the tradition of a Chēramān's conversion to Muhammadanism has, by scholars, been dismissed as groundless. It is not impossible that the disappearance of a Chēra king, miraculously or otherwise, the actual conversion of a Zamorin of Calicut to Muhammadanism as stated by the historian Ferishta and the extensions and improvements to the seaport of Quilon at the instance of Sapir Išo and his thriving co-religionists, which may have all taken place within a few decades of each other were commingled in a haphard fashion when the chronicle was patched up a few centuries ago. That the date given for the Chēramān in the chronicle is not trustworthy has been accepted by all, and no reliance need be placed on the account which terminates the Chēramān rule in the first half of the 5th century A. D.

(ii) From the *Periyapurānam*, it is learnt that the Śiva temple at Tīrukkandiyūr, one of the *Ashtavīratātānams* and *Saptasthānams*, a mile to the south of Tīruvaiyyāru in the Tanjore District, was visited by Chēramān-Perumāḷ in company with Sundaramūrti and that it was only in its vicinity that, at the command of god Pañchanāḍṣvara, the river Kāvērī parted its swollen waters so as to leave a dry ford for the two devotees to walk across with ease³. It is therefore highly probable that the Śiva temple at Tīrukkandiyūr in the Cheṅgannūr taluk of the Travancore State, which is considered to be one of the oldest in Kērala and to have been constructed by Chēramān-Perumāḷ⁴ himself, was perhaps consecrated by him as a remembrancer of this episode; and as we know from epigraphical sources⁵ that it came into existence in A. D. 823 two years before the starting of the Kollam era and had to be renovated in Kollam 392, Chēramān-Perumāḷ, its reputed author, may also be assigned to the beginning of the 9th century A. D.

The *Periyapurānam* which has been considered on all hands to be a quasi-historical compilation, denuded of the few supernatural incidents that may not be acceptable in a hyper-critical sense, does not supply in the lives of Chēramān-Perumāḷ or of his Nāyaṇmār contemporaries any clues that could help in the determination of their age with certainty. We only know that, on the abdication of a Chēra king named Śēṅgōṟporaiyaṇ who was ruling at Koduṅgōlūr, the next in succession Perumākkōḍaiyār, the Saiva devotee, ascended the throne. But unfortunately the names Śēṅgōṟporaiyaṇ (the just Chēra) and Perumākkōḍaiyār (the great Chēra) sound more like titles than individual appellations, *Poraiyaṇ* and

1 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol I, p. 225 et seq

2 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 76

3 *Chēramān-Perumāṇāyanār-purānam*, vv 130-9

4 *Trav State Manual*, Vol. III, p 508

5 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol I, p 290

Kōḍai being but synonymous with *Chēra*, but although it may be hazardous to assert that they do not represent the distinctive names of two *Chēra* kings, they are however a pair of designations too vague to yield any historical landmark. The *Chōla* and *Pāndya* contemporaries of *Chēramān* are also referred to by their dynastic titles of *Valavan* and *Tenṇavan*, which are absolutely useless for purposes of definite identification. The life-sketches of the *Nāyanmār* contemporaries of this king are also similarly barren of information, except that *Sundara* is mentioned to have been the *protégé* of a certain *Narasīngamunaiyaraian*, the chief of *Milādu*, who had his headquarters at *Tirukkōylūr* in the South Arcot District, and *Sundara* himself refers to a weak *Pallava* king of that period to whom his vassals stopped the payment of tribute. From the *Tirunāvalūr* and *Tirukkōylūr* inscriptions a few generations of *Milādu* chiefs with names *Narasimha* and *Rāma* are understood to have ruled in the years A. D. 954, 957, 1059 and 1149, and it is just vaguely possible that a *Narasīngamunaiyaraian* may have lived in the beginning of the 9th century A. D., as *Sundara's* patron.¹ The reference to the *Pallava* also points to a period when their power was at a low ebb, and this fits in well with the reign of *Dantivarman* (780-830) in whose later years *Tondai-mandalam* was invaded from the north by *Gōvinda III* (804) and on the south by the *Pāndya*, *Varaguna Mahārāja*² (825).

(iii) The *Tiruvilaiyādal-puvānam* of *Paraṅjōtiyār* which professes to give a chronological narration of the sixty-four divine sports of god *Chokkanātha* of *Madur* places in the reign of a *Pāndya* king named *Varaguna*, the following two episodes which constitute the 54th (*Viragu-virra-padalam*) and 55th (*Tirumugam-kodutta-padalam*) divine sports of that book, namely, the discomfiture *Ēmanātha* the northern lute-player on behalf of the local bard *Bhadra*, and the latter's deputation to a *Chēramān-Perumāl* of *Kodungōlūr* with a poem-inscribed cadjan order for present. Although the scheme of chronology adopted by *Paraṅjōtiyār* is a medley of tradition, myth and royal names, it may however be examined, all other things apart, whether the location of *Bhadra* in the reign of a *Pāndya* king who has the name of *Varaguna* is consistent with the above suppositions relating to *Chēramān-Perumāl* and *Sundara*. We know from reliable sources that *Varaguna Mahārāja*, the grandson of *Jatila-Parāntaka* (770 A. D.) and himself the grandfather of *Varagunavarman* who ascended the throne in A. D. 862 must have been reigning in the beginning of the 9th century, and as it is also known that this *Pāndya* sovereign was a devout *Śaiva* (*bhakta*), there is nothing improbable in linking together the above traditional accounts and in assuming *Chēramān* to have been this *Pāndya's* contemporary and to have lived in the first quarter of the 9th century A. D. The *Bāna-Bhadra* episode is also referred to in the *Kallādam*, but

1 There have been kings with these names -

Kuṭṭuvan-Kōḍai, *Mākkōḍai*, *Irumborai*, (*Puvānānūru*) and *Kannan-Poraiyan* (*T. A. S.* Vol III)

2 *Sendamēl*, Vol III, p 320.

3 *The Pallavas*, p 76

4 மனதலந தெரியன மாரபன வரகுணன செங்கோலோச்சி

பொனதலந காவலானிற் பொலியு நானேமநாதன . . . — *Viraguvirra-padalam*.

மன்னாதமபிரானுகிய வரகுணதேவன

தனனை வந்தடிபணிகதன்னநதிரிகிகழுவோன — *ibid*, v. 58

as its author Kallādanār¹ is, on other grounds,² considered to have been a later poet different from his namesake of the last Academy,—this mention need not necessarily militate against the assignment of Chēramān to the beginning of the 9th century.

(iv) The tradition stating that one of the offspring of the couple Bhagavan and Ādi, who was brought up by the Adigan³ and who was eventually raised to the Chēra throne was the Chēramān-Perumāl of the *Periyapuvānam* is not supported by any evidence except that of a verse⁴ popularly attributed to Auvaiyār, which she is said to have addressed in derision to the Chēra king, when god Vināyaka, pleased with her devotion, had raised her to heaven with his proboscis, sometime before the mounted pair Sundaramūrti and Chēramān could arrive at the Kālāsa gates. This is another instance wherein different episodes are mixed up together promiscuously.

(v) In his learned article on the age of Jñānasambandha, Prof. Sundaram Pillai finds an implied reference to certain Śaiva Nāyanmārs in the minor *stōtras* of Śankara, and if the *Śivabhujanga*, *Śivānandalahari* and *Sundaralahari* are the *indisputable* compositions of the author of the great *Bhāṣya*, then the passing reference in the stanza of the *Śivabhujanga*⁵ may be taken to contain a covert sneer at Sundara's matrimonial foibles, which however veneered over by some mythical varimsh was considered too big a blemish to be winked at by Iyarkōn-Kānk-kāmanayappar, who would rather die of his colic rather than submit to be cured by Sundara. The date of Śankara has been accepted by many scholars to be the beginning of the 9th century (788 to 820 A. D.), and in that case, it is also possible that the Sundara's Tiruvoniyūr episode may have reached his ears.

Thus all the available data tend towards the ascription of Chēramān-Perumāl-Nāyanar to the beginning of the 9th century A. D., and the temptation now offers itself to consider whether this royal saint of the Tamil hagiology can be the same as the Chera king Rājasekhara⁶ of the Talamana-illam copper-plate record. In support of this possible identification these points may be noted

1 கல்பாடாபுரத்தை விழுந்து விழுந்து நுழை, குடசோரேரன கடைத்திதுமாண்டேர, மதிமலிபுரிசைகத
குமுசங்குறி, பாபுமுத்திரிதத் வினயிசைபாணன, பெறத்திகொடுக்கென வறவிடுததருளிய, மர
தவ வயிருதுங் கட்டரு கிறைவன *Kallidam*, v 11 ll 25-30

2 *Serendib* Vol. XV p 107 ll

3 அம்மபாரேரல் கருமபாரைவருகி, அங்கணிலல்ல அங்கமான வளரத்தான — *Kapila āraṇḍi*
but this Kapila is believed to be a more modern namesake of the poet of the Last Academy

4 மதுமொழிவினையமபார கறுவன மலரம்பை
முக்கியையாவலராகாரிசோ முகில் போன முழுவக
சகிவருகி ஏற பாணையுதேருமகன பினவருக
குறைமபுக காது கிழவிபுக ராதக குலமன்னனே

5 न शकामि कर्तुं परद्रोहलेशं कथं प्रीयसे त्व न जाने गिरिश ।

तदा हि प्रसन्नोऽसि कस्यापि कान्तानुद्रोहणो वा पितृद्रोहिणो वा ॥ *Śivabhujangam*, v

In *Ind Ant* Vol XXXI, p 109, the Prof finds fault with Mr V Venkayya's identification of कान्ताद्रोहि with Sundara and says that Iyarpagari Nāyanār was intended

6 *Tamil Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p 13.

In the Tiruvalla copper-plate record of the beginning of the 11th century(?) the king has been mentioned as Sennittalaiadigal Rājasekhara,¹ which carries with it the additional significance of his devotion to god Śiva at Sennittalai, containing an early phallic emblem of the *linga*.²

Further, the king begins his Talamana-illam record with the words 'Namas-sūāia' in place of the almost universal 'Svasti-srī', and although this formula has been met with elsewhere in a few instances, it is nevertheless rare and may be considered to be significant of the special devotion of the king to god Śiva.

The palaeography of the plate also points to about the beginning of the 9th century as its age and this was the period in which Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār and his friend Chēramān-Perumāl are considered to have flourished. As it is quite possible that Chēramān-Perumāl was a dynastic title meaning 'the Chēra king', king Rājasekhara may have been known in the Tamil Districts exclusively by that title in the same way as the slightly later Chēra kings Sthānu-Ravi and Vijarāgādēva were known in the records of those districts as Chēramān Kōttānu-Ravi and Chēramān Vijarāgādēva.

There is again the tradition recorded in the *Śaṅkaraṇṇaya* that a Kēraḷa king called Rājasekhara was a contemporary of the great Śaṅkara to whom he showed three dramas of his own composition. This incident is found in an amplified form in the *Jagadgururatnamālāstava* of Sadāśivabrahmēndha of the 16th century, and its commentator has further supplemented the information by saying that the three and a *sattaka* which Rājasekhara showed to Śaṅkara were *Bālarāmāyana*, *Vidīhasālabhaṇṇika*, *Prachandapāṇḍava* and *Karpūramañjarī*. As these works are known to be the works of a northern poet called Rājasekhara who flourished in the court of Mahēndrapāla of the middle of the 10th century and who could not have been Śaṅkara's contemporary, the author of the *Stava* was perhaps confused by the similarity of names into the identification of a Kēraḷa king Rājasekhara with the northern poet of a later date. This leaves the *Śaṅkaraṇṇaya* statement that a Kēraḷa king was the author of three dramas still unexplained, and it is not known if *Mādhavāchārya* was himself misled by the identity in the names of the two different individuals.

Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L., has, in a learned article in Malayalam⁴ attempted to solve the difficulty by supposing that Rājasekhara may be a title of the Chēra king Kulasekharavarman, the accredited author of the two dramas *Taṭṭasamvaranam* and *Subhadrādhanāṇṇayam* and of a hypothetical third called *Vichchinnābhishēka*. Against this it may be said that the name of the Kēraḷa king of the Tiruvalla copper-plate cannot have been a title like Rājasekharavarman or Māṇavarman of the Tamil records, because of the specific mention of him as Rājajā-Paramesvara-Bhattāraka-Rājasekhara-dēva, the first three being his title and the last word his distinctive name. The word *Namas-sūāya* prefacing his record is also against his being identified with Kulasekhara, the author of the

1 *Ibid* Vol III, p 178

2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol II, p 69

3 Extracted on page 10 of the *Trav Archl. Series*, Vol II

4 *Bhāṣāposhinī* for 1917

Mukundamālā and the *Tirumōh*, which are saturated with a deep and almost exclusive devotion for Vishnu

Thus it may be tentatively assumed that Chēramān-Perumāl was identical with Rājasēkharadēva of the copper-plate record and that he lived in the first quarter of the 9th century, until other convincing arguments proving the contrary are forthcoming

In this connection it may be stated that Chēramān-Perumāl has elsewhere been identified with Bāna-Perumāl¹ (4th century A D), the fifth viceroy of the Perumāl line according to the *Kēralōlpathi*, on the strength of a possible reference to him in the 8th verse of the *Tirumodittinmalai-paḍigam* of Sundaramūrti:

வரமலிவாணன வந்து வழிதந்தெனக்கேறுவதேதா
சுராசிபாண தந்தானொருததான மலையுத்தமனே—(v. 8),

which has been interpreted to express the grateful recognition on the part of Sundara of the gift of an elephant made to him by the Chēra king. According to tradition, this *paḍigam* was sung by Sundara on the eve of his departure to Kālāsa on the celestial white elephant that had been sent to fetch him up, and even if this mythological colouring is ignored, there is unmistakable evidence throughout all the verses of the poem in each individual stanza of which the gift of an elephant is dutifully acknowledged to indicate that Sundara refers to god Śiva himself as the donor and not to any mortal, king and friend though he may be. The expressions of humility and devotion used in the verse can more fitly be considered to have been addressed to god rather than be applied to the Chēra king who stood in the relation of a disciple to Sundara. These instances are the following—

நாயினேனைப்பொருட படுததுவான, ஊனுயிரவேறுசெய்தான (v. 1)
தொண்டனனை, யாததாரால் விசுமடிலழகானையருள புரிந்த (v. 3)
வானநன்னுடா முனனை, துஞ்சுதன மாறறுவித்துத் தொண்டனே சபரமல்ல-
கொரு, பொருகினவானை தந்தான நொடித்தான மலையுத்தமனே (v. 6)
இந்தியன் மாஸிரமன்னெழிலரா மிகுதேவரெல்லாம்,
வந்தெகிர கொளவ வெனனை மததயானை யருளபுரிந்து (v. 9)

Vānaṇ though it may be an alternative form of Bānaṇ is also a contraction of the word *vāḷṇaṇ* signifying 'one who dwells', and *varamalivānaṇ* which has been taken as the 'Bāna(-perumāl) of great gifts' may equally appropriately refer to god 'the bestower of bounteous gifts'. It is no doubt true that Chēra kings were proverbially lavish in their munificence and that many poems have extolled their gifts of elephants to poets and other suppliants; but the *paḍigam* under reference does not appear to immortalise a mere mortal's gift.

The incidents which Sundara is supposed to have recorded in these verses have given rise to the story that Sundara ascended to heaven with his mortal body

1. Against this identification of this Śaiva saint with Bānapperumāl of the 4th century A D it may be stated that the reference to Tiruvalluvar contained in the *Taṇḱavaiyāṇḱāna uḷa* as *pandavar* seems to point to the conclusion that its author may have flourished many centuries after the ancient poet of the 1st century A D

- (a) கண்டு கேட்டுணடுயிரத்திறழியுமைமபுலனு
மொண்டொடிக்கண்ணையுளவெனறு—பண்டையோகட்டுரையை
- (b) இல்லரை யெல்லாருமென்குவார செலவரை
யெல்லாருஞ் செயவா சிறப்பென்னுஞ்—சொல்லாலே.

and that he directed god Varuna whom he has addressed as 'ஆழிகடலரை பாவஞ-
சைப்பபகதறிவிப்பத' in the last line of the poem to publish this *padigam* to the
terrestrial world. From the reference made to god Añjaikkalattappai in the last
verse and from the description of Nodittānmalai in verse 7 that the god of that
hill was worshipped by the lord of the sea with his flower-like waves—

ஆலைகடலால் ரபனலா கொண்டமுன வந்திறைஞ்சும
உலைபணையா தவண்ணொடித்தா னமலையுததம் ன்ன—(v. 7)

one is tempted to locate Nodittānmalai (the hill of Hara) in the vicinity of Añjaik-
kalam and not equate it with the Kailāsa hill in the midst of the Himalayas.
'ஆழிகடலரையா' may have been used as an epithet of Añjaikkalam that has else-
where been described as splashed by the sea-waves, or, if an apostrophe, may it not
refer to a chieftain of the coast (*kadal + arayan*)? Kailāsanātha's temples are
very common in many places and the hill Nodittānmalai, wherever it was, must
have borne on its summit one such shrine dedicated to Śiva. It is likely that Sun-
dara who may have gone up to worship that god was followed soon after by his
royal host, that they both composed respectively on this occasion the songs *Tiru-
nodittānmalai-padigam* and *Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā* and that some mysterious
causes, having led to their sudden disappearance from the land of the living, their
accredited piety may have then attracted towards their glorification the super-
natural version of a celestial journey to Mount Kailāsa with their mortal bodies.

The introductory portion of the *Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā* of Chēramān is also
worth noting in this connection, in regard to the description it gives of god Śiva,
who was seated in the *tirukkōyil* (*śrīkōyil*=temple?) at Śivapuram.² The large
number of the *āgamīc* terms that have been employed in the detailed enumeration
of the ornaments with which Śiva was decked out, seems to suggest that the royal
poet had before him an iconographic representation of Śiva, which he naturally
identified with the higher divinity of the Silver-Mount. The terms that have been
used are the following *chūlamani*, *pattam*, *makarakūṇḍala*, *kaṇḍiyar*, *channavī-
ram*, *kēyūram*, *udavabandham*, *kaṭisūtram*, *kaṇkanam* *rāchikai*, *kuṇṇam*, *mēkhalā*,
kāra and *jaṭamakuṭa* among ornaments and *phallam*, *bhōm*, *karatāḷum*, *maṇḍala*
and *duṇḍubhi* among musical instruments.

No. 29.—Kulasekhara-Perumal.

A short account of the life and times of the royal Saint Kulasekhara-Ālvār
may, with advantage, be appended here, because he was an early king of the Chēra
house of Malai-mandalam and the present ruling dynasty of Travancore also traces
its descent from him.

- 1 Compare சந்தித்தடமாலவரைபோற்றிரைகடனியாதிடறுங்கடலங்கரைமே
லநதித்தலைச்செக்காவானேயொத்தியாலனியார்பொழிலஞ்சைக்களநதப்பனே—(v. 3)
and மழைக்கு நிகரோபபனவனிறைகள் வலித்தெற்றிமுழங்கிவலம் புரிகொண்
டழைக்குங் கடலங்கரைமேன் மகோதையனியார்பொழிலஞ்சைக்களநதப்பனே—(v. 4).
- 2 சீராவிலோகந்தனனுட சிவபுரத்திலேரா நிருக்கோயிலுள்ளிருப்ப —*Tirukkailāyājñāna-ulā*.

It may be noted that the god at Tiruchchivapērūr (Trichur) is called Vāṇakkunnātha of the
Vṛṣabhādrī Hill.

The sources from which the material for this account can be collected are the *Divyasūri-charitam*¹ of Garudavāhana-Pandita (12th century), *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*² of Pimpalagaya-Perumāl-Jiyar (14th century), *Upadēsaratnamālā* of Manavālamāmuni (14th century), *Periya-tirumudi-adavū* of Kandādayappan (14th century) and a few other later Vaiṣṇava works, which furnish certain traditional landmarks in the life of Kulaśekhara interspersed, more or less, with incidents of a supernatural character, that have 'mistletoed' on the original biographical trunk with the lapse of time.

The Saint was born according to these accounts in the royal Chēra dynasty at Vañji (Tiruvāñjikulam) in the 28th year of the Kali era, corresponding to the cyclic year 'Parabhava', on the Thursday of the month of Māṣi, which had dvādaśi-tithi of the bright fortnight and Purnavasu-nakshatra. He was considered as an incarnation of the Śrī-Kaustubha of god Vishnu and as his birth in the royal family was considered to be in answer to the devout petition of the old childless king Dindhavata, the new born prince was named Kulaśekhara, the crest jewel of his race. When the heir apparent came of age, the old king abdicated the kingdom and retired to a quiet *vānaprastha*'s life, and the new king Kulaśekhara ascended the ancient Chera throne to the joy of his ministers and subjects whom he pleased by his wisdom and equity. His devotion to god Vishnu also grew apace and he often spent his time in listening to expositions of the *Rāmāyana* and the other sacred epics and his money in giving largesses to the Vaiṣṇava devotees who mustered strong in his capital. His piety and sincerity were so great, it is said, that on one occasion when the pathetic story was being narrated as to how Ravana carried away the helpless Śīta from the sylvan hermitage, he at once issued orders to marshal out his army for the invasion of Ceylon and the punishment of the abductor³. The minister who felt jealous of the favours showered by the king on the Vaiṣṇava *bhaktas*, tried by some ruse to bring back the king from his pious infatuation, and with this end in view they trumped up on the devotees a false charge of the theft of some temple jewels; but the strategem did not work, as Kulaśekhara vindicated their innocence by the miracle of inserting his hand in a pot

1 Appendix to the *History of Vaiṣṇavism*, by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M. A.

2 तस्यामभूच्चैरकुलप्रदीपः श्रीकौस्तुभात्मा कुलशेखराख्यः ।

महीपातर्माघपुनर्वसूयहिने हरेः पूर्णकटाक्षलक्ष्यः ॥—*Divyasūri-charitam*

3 சேரன் குலசேகரராயக கொண்டு கூத்தரியவாணத்திலே மாசிமாசைத்தில புனாபூசநகூதரத்தில வந்தவத ரித்தாரா — *Pimpalagayaperumāl Jiyar*.

4 கவி 28 மவருஷம் பராவவருஷம் மாசிமீ சுநலதுவாதகி வெள்ளிகிழமை கூடன புனாவசு நகூதரம் — *Guruparamparāprabhāvam*

4 वर्षे परामवे मासे कुम्भ वै शुक्लपक्षके ।

श्रीमत् पुनर्वसूतारे दशम्यां गुरुवासरे ॥

कौस्तुभांशेन संजज्ञे महात्मा कुलशेखरम् ।

5 श्रीरामभक्तिरसपूर्णमनस्स्यूत श्री.

रामात्मभाषसहितस्सगृहीतखड्गः ।

रामायणश्रवणरावणखण्डनेच्छु-

स्सिन्धुं विवेश कुलशेखरभूमिपो यः ॥

Prapannāmritam

—*Balarāmaharatan* (T. A. S. IV p. 109).

containing a live cobra and drawing it out unscathed.¹ The royal saint then threw off the reins of government in disgust and after anointing the prince Dri-dhavrata who had been named after his grandfather, started out on a pilgrimage to the holy isle of Śrīrangam and spent there some years, serving and worshipping god Alagiyamanavāla of that temple after bestowing on him his pious daughter in marriage. This last incident is also mentioned in the *Koṇṭololugu*² to the effect that after Kali year 50, Kulaśekhara, the lord of the three Tamil kingdoms of Chēra, Pāṇḍya and Chōla, married his daughter Śōlakulavallī to the god of Śrīrangam, giving away his whole wealth as dowry, and that he built the Sēnarveṇ-rāṇ-mandapa and repaired the *prākāra* which was thereafter called the Kulaśekharaṇ-tiruvīdi. He then visited the holy Vaishnava temples of Tiruvēngadam, Tiruvayōdhyā, Tillaī-Chitrakūtam, Tirukkannapuram, Tirumālirūṇṇōlai and Tiruvirūvakkōdu and finally settled down at Brahmadeśam near Tirukkurukūr, the sanctified birth place of Nammālvār, where he shook off his mortal coil at the advanced age of sixty-seven.

In the account extracted above from the orthodox versions of the life of the Ālvār, the chronological detail fixing the date of his birth in the beginning of the Kali era will not bear scrutiny and is, on the face of it, an absurd fib introduced by the later hagiographers to envelop their hero in a sacred halo of antiquity. The traditional limits for Kulaśekhara's period are Nammālvār, the famous saint of Tirukkurukkūr on the one hand, and Tirumangamannaṇ, who is considered as the last of the twelve Vaishnava apostles on the other. Epigraphy furnishes for the later limit of the Ālvār's time two records, one dated in the 18th year of the Chōla king Kulōttunga I³ (= A. D. 1088) which provided for the daily recital of the *Tēttarundināl* (the second *Tirumolī*) in the Śrīrangam temple and another, somewhat earlier, belonging to the reign of the viceroy Chōla-Kēraladeva (A. D. 1050), according to which arrangement was made for a similar recital from the Ālvār's work. Proceeding nearer, it has also been possible to arrive at a still earlier lower limit for Kulaśekhara from a determination of the time of Tirumangai-Ālvār,⁴ who has been found according to the latest researches to have flourished as a late contemporary of the Pallava king Dantivarman (A. D. 779-830) and possibly also during a few years of the reign of his successor Nandivarman (A. D. 830-54), in consideration of the saint's traditional long life of 105 years. It follows therefore that the Chēra Saint may have lived somewhere in the first half of the 9th century if Nammālvār,⁵ his predecessor, is assigned to the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century A. D., as has been done by some scholars.

The astronomical details of the date of birth of Kulaśekhara furnished in the *Guruparamparas* which carry an air of genuineness about them on account of their smug completeness have been calculated by Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai

1 அஞ்சலெனக் குடப்பாமபிலங்கையிட்டான் வாழியே

2 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL

3 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 148. *Ancient India*, page 401. but the *Madras Epigl. Report* for 1900 refers only to Tirumangai's *Tirumōḍundindakam*

4 *Tamil varāḷāḥ*, p. 128

5 *History of Vaishnavism*, page 21

to be equivalent to A. D. 767; but he has himself expressed the opinion¹ that these data have not the authenticity of contemporary observations, as they are often found to have been cooked up by retrospective calculations by the biographers who sketched out the Saint's lives at a later time. Their acceptance will therefore have to depend upon the confirmation received by other independent historical or literary evidence.

Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao has attempted to fix the date of Kulasekhara as A. D. 825 on the strength of an historical reference in one of the verses of the *Perumāl-Tirumoli*² which, according to his interpretation, is made to refer to the defeat and death of a Pallava king of Mallai (Mahāmallapuram) at the Chēra king's hands and of the fact that, as the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna I is also considered to have invaded the southern portion of the Pallava-dominions during the closing years of Dantivarman's reign (825) proceeding as far as Araṣṭu in Tondai-nādu,³ Kulasekhara may, in all probability, have distinguished himself in this campaign as a Pāṇḍya vassal. Although Kulasekhara has been assigned to about the same period in this paper also, the correctness of the argument cited above may be examined. A recent writer in the *Sendamīl*⁴ has advanced a theory suggesting that the *sārrukkavis* tagged on to the end of the decades of verses of the *Alvārs* need not necessarily be the composition of the respective authors, but may have been supplemented by later poets between the 10th and 12th centuries after the *Nālāyirappirabandham* was collated in its present anthological form; and that this view finds support in the fact that, at least in the *Perumāl-Tirumoli*, the self-laudation expressed in the final stanzas is not in general consonance with the spirit of humility and detachment pervading the other verses of the poems. For instance, the *bhakti* who would discard a regal life and rest content to be born a fish in the hilly-springs of blessed Veṅgaḍam⁵ cannot be expected to call himself at the end of the same poem as a Kulasekhara of a murderous javelin, or elsewhere, as the king who shone with a resplendent sword at the head of a terrific army, as the lord of the triple kingdom of Chēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya. If therefore the theory of interpolation can be accepted, the argument that Kulasekhara has referred to his own achievement loses its weight as the line quoted is in the 11th verse of his 7th *Tirumoli*; but another writer in the same journal has criticised this view and has made a bold stand on the orthodox side. Leaving aside therefore this discussion about the real authorship of the *sārrukkavis* of the *Prabandham*, it may be noted that the line extracted for illustration does not admit of the historical interpretation suggested above. This *Tirumoli* of ten verses was intended

1 Chaurman's remarks on same, page 54

2 மலைமாள்காங்குறையவன் தனனை
வான் செலுத்தி வந்திருக்கை மாயநடு
எலையில் பிள்ளை செய்வன காணாத்
தெய்வத் தேவன் புலம்பிய புலம்பல
கொலிக்காவலன் மாலடிமுடிமேல்
கோலமாம குலகேசரன் சொன்ன
நாலிசைத்தமிழ் மாலையலலாகன
நண்ணுவார ஒல்கைநாணானுகே

— *Perumāl-Tirumoli*, VII 11.

3 The *Pallavas* page 77

4 *Sendamīl*, Vol. XXI, pp. 333-40, and pp. 429-42

5 *Perumāl-Tirumoli*, [V, 2

to express the rapture of Dēvakī at meeting her divine son, who had been separated from her during all these long years of her incarceration by her vengeful brother and who had now returned to her after an adventurous life of exile spent in Gōkula, culminating in the slaying of Kamsa himself in a boxing match at Mathurā. The fond mother yearningly, almost jealously, pictures to herself the pleasurable sight of all the lovable attractions and juvenile sports of Krishna which was denied to her and Vasudēva, the real parents, but which was vouchsafed to the more fortunate pair Yaśōda and Nanda, the foster-parents at Nandavraja, with whom Krishna had spent his eventful boyhood. Her pathetic catalogue of the Gōkula incidents, from the purely infantile pranks of Krishna up to his youthful adventures with Gōvardhanagiri, Vṛishabhāsura, the serpent Kālīya and the demoness Pūtana, ends with his final combat with the arch-enemy Kamsa himself, and the Ālvār therefore winds up the last verse saying that he versified in his own sweet style this dolorous lament of Dēvakī, which she may have naturally poured forth to Krishna on the occasion of his first meeting her in prison after the death of the lord of Mallai. Mallai, the usual synonym for Mahāmalla-puram appears to have been used here to refer to Mathurā, Kamsa's capital, (Mallai-mānagaram = the prosperous city—of athletes)¹. No defeat or death of a Pallava king seems therefore to have been hinted at in this verse. It may also be noted that Kulaśekhara has nowhere, in the other decades, exceeded the limit of the latter half of the final verses to embalm his name and titles; and even if this verse is taken as an exception to that rule, the interpretation put upon it is far-fetched, for the epithet 'who returned after killing the lord of Mallai' (மலலைமான் காக்கிறையவன் தன்னைவான் செலுத்திவந தீங்கனை) has to be taken to qualify the incomparable Divine child² (பாயதது எல்லையில பிள்ளை) rather than Kulaśekhara, whose name occurs further on in the other half of the stanza and whose work was only the versification of this lament and nothing more. That Krishna actually met his mother Dēvakī at Mathurā soon after the death of its tyrant-king, is described in the *Bhāgavatam* and is further referred to in the fourth verse of this poem, where Dēvakī says, கண்ணனை ' . . . இளமையின பத்தை இன்று என்தன் கண்ணுறபநகுவேறகு இவன் தாயென நீனைநத அளவில்' If ஈங்குஅனை should refer to Kulaśekhara, who returned from his victorious battle to worship Krishna in gratitude, it is inexplicable why the name of that Krishna's temple is not specifically mentioned, as on the other occasions at Kannapuram, Chitrakūṭam and Vīruvakkōḍu. The last verse of the 9th *Tirumoli* or Daśaratha's Lament² is also worded in a similar spirit and only its latter

1 It is interesting to note that Pillaipperumāl Ayyangār makes use of the pun on the word Mallai = athletes and Mahāmalla-puram in the verse

செறிநதபண்பலித்துத் திணைகலிறைச சாடி
முறிநதுவிழப்பாகனையுமோதி—பெறிநது
தருக்கடனமலலைக்குமைததான்றஞ்சமென்று நெஞ்சு
திருக்கடனமலலைக்குட்டி

But Kulaśekhara refers only to Mathur in his verse.

—*Nu rettiturappati-andika*, v 93

2 ஏராரதகருநெடுமாவிராமஞப்
வனம்புக அதுககு ஆறரு
தாராரத தடவரைததோன தயரதன தான
புலம்பிய அபபுலம்பல தனை
உராரத வேல் வலவன கோழியா கோன
குடைக குலசேகரன் சொறசெயத
சிராரத தமிழமாலை இவை வல்லார
தினெறிககண செல்லாரதாமே

half has been reserved, as usual, for the inevitable colophon. The Pallava king Dantivarman whom Kulaśekhara is considered to have encountered in A. D. 825 is not also known to have died (வாணசுலுததி) at that time, as other records of his 49th and 51st years of reign have been found at Gudimallam and Truchānūr¹.

From the *Travancore State Manual*² we learn that in the beginning of the Kollam era a brahman-poet called Pattattu Vāsudēva-Bhattāṭṭi, who began life as a servant in the house of a priest, was miraculously instilled with the poetic muse by eating a few plantains given him by the god at Tiruvilakkāvu in Kēraḷa, and that he composed the two kāvyas, *Yudhishthiraviṇṇayam* and *Tripuradahanam*. In the Palace Library at Trivandrum are found the manuscripts of these two works which are stated to have been composed by a poet of the name of Vāsudēva. Of these the first work has been commented upon by a certain Chokkanātha and is available in the Palace Library, while another by the commentator, Rāghavakavi *alias* Śrīkantha, is also understood to exist, but the text has been published by the Nirmaya-agara Press together with a third commentary of Rājānaka Ratnakantha, a poet who flourished in the time of the Mughal Emperor Aurangazib. From the latter fact and also because a manuscript of the work was discovered at Kashmir, its editor in the *Kāvya-mālā Series*³ has hazarded the erroneous conjecture, that both the poet and the king whom he mentions may have belonged to Northern India. The other *kāvya* called *Tripuradahanam*, which does not appear to have been published hitherto, is also from the pen of the same author, as will be shown in the sequel. In the first few verses⁴ of the *Yudhishthiraviṇṇayam*, the

1 Nos 226 and 262 of the Madras Collection for 1903 and 1904

2 *State Manual*, Vol III, p 427

3 Introduction to *Yudhishthiraviṇṇayam* in the *Kāvya-mālā Series*, No 60.

- काश्मीरमन्तरास्य काव्यस्य विरलप्रचारत्वेन काश्मीरिकावेवैतौ पार्थिवपण्डितौ भवेताम् । अत एव
अस्योपरि काश्मीरिकराजानकरत्नकण्ठकृतैव व्याख्या रासुपलब्धा ॥
- 4 अस्ति स गजराजगती राजवरो येन गतशुभगजराजगती ।
भीषणमधिकं कवयः स्तुवीन्त जन्म यदिमधिकं कवयः ॥ ४ ॥
तरवो भूरिच्छायाः समानफलदायिनी च भूरिच्छाया ।
सविनयशोभा जनता यद्राज्ये यस्य भुवि यशो भाजनता ॥ ५ ॥
तस्य च वसुधामवतः काले कुलशेखरस्य वसुधामवतः ।
वेदानामध्यायी भारतगुरुरभवदाधनामध्यायी ॥ ६ ॥
यं प्राप रमा चार्यं देवी च गिरा पुराणपरमाचार्यम् ।
यमशुभसन्तोदान्तं परमेश्वरमुपदिशन्ति सन्तोदान्तम् ॥ ७ ॥
ज्ञानसमग्रामेयं निवसन्त विप्रसत्तमग्रामे यम् ।
तिलकं भूमावाहुर्यस्यार्थिषु दत्तभूतिभूमावाहुः ॥ ८ ॥
समजनि कश्चित्तस्य प्रवणदिशव्योऽनुवर्तकश्चित्तस्य ।
काव्यानामालोके पटुमनसो वासुदेवनामा लोके ॥ ९ ॥
कीर्तिमदभ्रां तेन स्मरता भारतसुधामदभ्रान्तेन ।
जगदुपहासाय मिता पार्थकथा कल्मषापहा सा यमिता ॥ १० ॥

author says that he composed the work in the reign of a king called Kulaśekhara of elephant gait, who dispelled the sorrow of his subjects, whose terrible battle-fields were extolled by poets as hovered over by vultures, whose country abounded in shady trees and yielded bumper harvests, whose subjects were peace-loving and who was himself a fit repository of fame. In this reign there lived a devout teacher named Bhārataguru (an expounder of the *Bhārata* by profession?) well-versed in the Vēdas and a pet of both Lakshmi and Sarasvatī, who was considered a very Paramēśvara in his qualities (was he also called Paramēśvara?), who was of untold knowledge, who lived in an *agrahūra* peopled by pious brahmins, who was called a *tilaka* (by pandits) and whose hands bestowed extensive gifts of lands to the needy. To such a preceptor who delighted in perusing good *kāvya*s, Vāsudēva became a willing disciple and with the idea of acquiring undying fame, he whose mind was steeped in the Bhārata lore composed in the *yamaka* style the story of Pārtha (Yudhishtira) anticipating, however, the world's ridicule.

In the *Mukundamālā* which is admitted on all hands to be the composition of the Chēra king Kulaśekhara-varman *alias* Kulaśekhara-Ālvār, the last verse is found as follows in all the hitherto printed editions —

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतधरौ कविलोकगीतौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मपरिवारशिवावभूताम् ।
तेनाम्बुजाक्षचरणाम्बुजषट्पदेन
राज्ञा कृता स्तुतिरियं कुलशेखरेण ॥

But the manuscript of an annotated copy of the same poem, discovered by Mr. S. Paramesvara Ayyar M. A., B. L., M. R. A. S. of Trivandrum, offers the following reading for the first half of that verse.

यस्य प्रियौ श्रुतिधरौ कविलोकवीरौ
मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपारशवावभूताम् ।

and this is explained in the commentary in the sense that a (Nambūdiri) brahman called Ravi and a *pārasava*, a member of the *vāriyar*-caste known by the name or title of Lōkavīra were the friends of the royal author¹. The *Tripuradahana* which is written in the same *yamaka* style as its sister-poem the *Yudhishtiravijaya* and which may, on this single argument, be pronounced to be the work of the same author has this piece of information to give, *viz.*, that it was composed by the son of Ravi²; and its commentator, a certain Nilakantha (c. 13th century) has also identified this *रविभूः* with Vāsudēva himself³. It is also quite appropriate that

1 Some other scholars find in this verse an implied reference to Kulaśekhara's contemporaries, the brahman devotee Tondarāḍippōḍi and the *pānan* Tiruppāṇālvār, and quote also 'ஆடிப்பாடி அ ரவகாவே' எனறதைக்கும் தொண்டரடிப்பொடி, ஆடநாம பெறில கவகைநீர் குடைநதாடும் வேட கை எனளுவதே (II, 3) but the reference is by no means conclusive.

Dr S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has द्विजन्मवरपद्यचरावभूताम् and *Br̥hatsūtra mukteśhvara* has कवि-लोकवीरौ मित्रे द्विजन्मवरपार्श्वचरावभूताम् ।

2 मतिबलमासाद्य मितं पुरदहनं रविभुवा समासाद्यमितम्

—*Tripuradahana*

3 त्रिपुरदहनसंज्ञं कान्यमेतद्विधातुं कविरथ रविसुखीसुदेवाभिदानः ।

निरुपमचरितेन स्वच्छमीशानसंज्ञं नतजनहितदं तं स्तौति विघ्नातेभीतः ॥ —*Nilakantha's commentary*

poet Vāsudēva should have dedicated his *Yudhishthiravijayam*, a Vaishnava composition, to Kulaśekhara the great Vaishnava bhakta and the author of the *Mukundamālā* and *Tirumolā*

It is therefore reasonable to identify king Kulaśekhara who has been glorified in the *Yudhishthiravijayam* by Vāsudēva, son of Ravi, with Kulaśekhara-Ālvār, the author of the *Mukundamālā* and the friend of Ravi and to assign the royal saint and the poet Vāsudēva to the beginning of the Kollam era

Two dramas of the names of *Tapatīsamvaranam*¹ and *Subhadrādhanañ-jayam*² published as Nos. XI and XIII of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series are found to be the works of a king named Ku'laśekhara-varman, who styles himself as the lord of Mahodayapura, (Kodungōlur to the north of Cochin) and the crest-jewel of the Kerala dynasty. It is learnt that he was also the author of an earlier prose work called the *Ācharyamañjarī*³. From the spirit of sincere devotion to god Vishnu that pervades the two dramas and from the similarity of ideas expressed in the *bharatarākya* and some other stanzas of these works with those in the *Mukundamālā*, the inference has been drawn by scholars⁴ that the two authors, who were both of them kings called Kulaśekhara were identical, and as the *Mukundamālā* is the production of the Kērala king Kulaśekhara who was later on canonised as an Ālvār, the two dramas have also been considered as the works of the Vaishnava saint. In a verse generally attributed to Rājasekhara,⁵ who may be the same as the author of *Bālarāmayanam* etc., who flourished in the first half of the 10th century, some well-deserved eulogy is bestowed on the merits of Kulaśekhara's *Ācharyamañjarī*, and from this, the lower limit of the latter author was fixed in the beginning of the 9th century, allowing a somewhat long interval for his work to earn such popularity in the distant north. The omission of the name of the preeminent dramatist Bhavabhūti (the contemporary of Avantivarman 693-729) from the list of the *Mahākavis* Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harsha and Dandin to whom Kulaśekhara pays the due homage of reference in his *Tapatīsamvaranam* has also been taken to point to the conclusion that Kulaśekhara must have lived at a time when Bhavabhūti's fame had not penetrated into the southern corner of India, i. e., in all probability about the first half of the 9th century A. D. or earlier. From these facts, the argument for assigning this king to a much later

1 तस्य राज्ञः केरळचूडामणेरमहोदयपुरपरमेश्वरस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणः कृतिरियमधुना प्रयोगविषयमवतरति ।

—*Tapatīsamvaranam*

2 तपतीसवरणघटनापटुतरस्य राज्ञः कलमराशिपेशलकैदारिककेरळाधिनाथस्य श्रीकुलशेखरवर्मणो निजनिबन्धनमय बध्नाति बुधहृदयम् ।

—*Subhadrādhanañjayam*

3 यस्य परमहंसपादपंकेरुहपांसुपटलपवित्राकृतमुकुटतटस्य वसुधाविवुधघनायान्धकारमिहिरायमाणकरकमलस्य मुखकमलादगलद् आश्चर्यमञ्जरीकथामधुव ।

—*Tapatīsamvaranam*.

4 Introduction to the *Tapatīsamvaranam* in the *Trin. Sanskrit Series*
Archæological Report for 1096 M. E.
Bhāshapōshana for 1917.

5 दूरादपि सतां चित्ते लिखित्वाश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ।

कुलशेखरवर्माभ्यां चकाराश्चर्यमञ्जरीम् ॥

—Rājasekhara in *Suktimuktāvaṇī*.

6 शूद्रककालिदासहर्षदण्डिप्रमुखाणा महाकवीनामन्यस्य कस्य कवेरिद निबन्धनम् । —*Tapatīsamvaranam*

date on the strength of a doubtful(?) reference to Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpa*¹ considered to have been made by Sumatī (?), a Nambudiri brahman of Paramēśvara-mangalam, who was a contemporary of Kulaśekhara and who wrote the two commentaries called *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* on the two dramas under the supervision of and with suggestions received from the royal author himself, has also been contested; and it has been suggested² that a later scribe of the particular manuscript may have been responsible for the insertion in the commentary of this supplementary note quoting from *Daśarūpa*.

All the arguments noted above do not appear to be unreasonable, but in addition to them the following points may have also to be given some consideration, before the two dramas can be definitely attributed to the saint-king of the 9th century. The author of the *Vyaṅgyavyākhyā* has given king Kulaśekhara's personal opinion on the merits of his own dramas in the following verse —

‘ध्वनियुक्ताव्यसरणिः शस्तेति प्रोच्यते बुधैः ।

एतस्माद् ध्वनियुक्ता सा रचिता नाटकद्वयी ॥

which is almost an echo of the dictum laid down by Ānandavardhana (A. D. 880) in the opening line of his *Dhvanyāloka viz.*, काव्यस्यात्मा ध्वनिरिति बुधैर्य समाम्नातपूर्वः³, and the dramas may therefore be presumed to be posterior and to be permeated with that requisite which gives the necessary life to a good composition.

In the fifth act of the *Tapatīsamvaram* occurs a verse⁴ where the love-lorn king is made to say that the sun sheds coolnectarrays on him and then to request a passing cloud (apostrophised as *Akālalalada*) not to trouble the friendly sun (*Ravi mandalam*) even for a moment. From the way in which these two verses are put into the context it looks as if the author wanted to convey in this description a hidden reference to some current political event, but in cases of this type where much has to depend upon the hypothetical interpretation of particular verses one cannot afford to be dogmatic. If, however, *Akālalalada* can be taken to be a synonym for *Akālavarsha*, we know that it was a title borne by three Rāshtrakūta kings of the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries A. D. viz., Krishna I (A. D. 750), Krishna II (A. D. 888-911), the contemporary of the Chēra king Sthānu-Ravi and the Chōla Āditya, and Krishna III (937-67), the contemporary probably of the Chera king Indu-Kōḍai and his immediate predecessor and of the Chōla kings. Parāntakas I and II. In the two latter cases, the troubling of the Ravi-mandalam may be taken to refer either to an anticipated invasion of the kingdom (*mandalam*) of Sthānu-Ravi or of Chōla Āditya or to the temporary occupation of the territory of the Chōlas (*Solar* dynasty) by Krishna III, who took Kanchi killing the Chōla prince Rāj-āditya at the battle of Takkōlam in A. D. 947⁴. If the first significance was intended, Kulaśekhara should be considered to have composed the drama before

1 Introduction to *Tapatīsamvaram*, p. 4

2 *Bhāṣāpōṣhaṁ*, for 1917

3 हा कष्टमकालजलद पापीयानांशुमालिनं तिरोधत्ते । भो भो सौदमनीवल्लभ !

लास्यारम्भप्रविततशिखानर्पयन्त कलापान् केकापूरप्रचितकुहरां ऋन्धरा द्राघयन्तम् ।

त्व प्रेक्षस्व प्रणयविवशः प्रेमवन्त मयूर मा भूर्मेघ ! क्षणमपि रवेर्मण्डलस्योपरोधी ॥ - v 11.

4 *Histl Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 229

perhaps he had himself abdicated the throne according to the custom of Kēraḷa and Sthānu-Ravi had already been anointed as king. As the latter king is known from his famous copper-plate grants and the Tillaisthānam record to have been living in about A. D. 880, Kuḷaśekhara, his predecessor, may have to be located in the first half of the 9th century between about A. D. 830 and 850 and can then be identified with the Ālvār, who has been stated above to belong to this period, but unfortunately there is no epigraphical authority for stating that a Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Kēraḷa or of the Chōḷa dominions was threatened in the reign of Krishna II --- Akāḷavarsha. If, however, the second interpretation be accepted, the royal author of the two dramas may be considered to have been a predecessor of Indu-Kōḍavarman who has been tentatively assumed to have begun his reign in A. D. 955, and a successor of Vijayarāgaḍēva who was only a prince in about A. D. 880. Thus was a period when cordial feelings prevailed among the three powers of the South who had made common cause for the total extinction of the main Pallava line which ended with the defeat of Aparājita at the hands of the Chōḷa Āḍitya I at the end of the 9th century. Sthānu-Ravi was the friend and ally of Āḍitya I, and princess Nīlī, the daughter of Vijayarāgaḍēva who must have succeeded Sthānu on the Chōḷa throne, figures as a donor to the Tiruvorniyūr temple (Chingleput District) in a record of Parāntaka I dated in A. D. 935. Parāntaka was himself connected with the Chōḷa dynasty by marriage as his queens one of whom was Kōḱkilānaḍigal, the mother of prince Rājāditya, were Chōḷa princesses, but it is not known if one of these or another lady was the daughter of the Kēraḷa chief Paluvēttaraiyar, whom the Chōḷa king is also said to have married. Parāntaka (Vīra-Chōḷa) and his queen are known to have been donors to the Tiruvalla temple in the Travancore State.

This location of Kuḷaśekhara between the years 935 and 955 does not, however, necessarily preclude the possibility of the northern poet Rājāśekhara being able to refer to the former author's *Āścharyamañjarī*, which was assuredly the first of his productions, only the interval is rather short, which may also account for the possibly contemporary (?) tone of the testimony of Rājāśekhara in his appreciative stanza. It also renders it probable that the royal author was tempted to compose his dramas as *dhvaniyuktā* on a perusal of the *Dhvanyālōka*, the strong advocate of the employment of *dhvani* in compositions, which was at that time quite a recent critical work on Rhetoric. The only point that clashes with these surmises is the omission of the name of Bhavabhūti in the list of poets mentioned by Kuḷaśekhara, but it has to be supposed that the list was not exhaustive, and that the royal author mentioned in a haphazard fashion only a few of his predecessors in the realm of poetics. That there was at least one Chōḷa king by the name of Kuḷaśekhara anterior to Indu-Kōḍavarman is proved by the fact that the father-in-law of Vijayarāgaḍēva was a certain Kuḷaśekharaḍēva and it is

1 *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. II, p. 76-7

2 , Vol. III, p. 162

3 *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 236

4 *T. A. S.*, Vol. II, p. 162.

5 *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 141

6 *T. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 144

possible that the successor of Vijayarāga was also another Kulaśekhara, named after this maternal grandfather. All these are, no doubt, probable guesses to show that the author of the two dramas need not necessarily be equated with the saint-king of the same name, unless there are more convincing arguments in favour of that identification.

The following tentative list of the Chēra kings may for the present be drawn up, subject however to such corrections as future finds may render necessary:—

Name	Approximate dates.
Rājaśekhara-dēva (whose copper-plate record is attributable to the beginning of the 9th century, and who was a contemporary of the great Śankara)	800-825
Kulaśekhara-varman <i>alias</i> Kulaśekhara-Ālvār, (the author of <i>Mukundamālā</i> and <i>Tirumoli</i>)	825-850
Rāma (of <i>Tripuradhana Śaurakathōdaya</i> and <i>Nalōdaya</i>)	850-870
Sthānu-Ravi (of Kottayam-plates and Tillaisthānam record)	870-900
Vijayarāga-dēva (the heir-apparent in the Kottayam plates)	900-935
Kulaśekhara-varman (the author of the two dramas)	935-955
Indu-Kōdavarman (latest regnal year 16)	955-971
Bhāskara-Ravivarman (latest regnal year 58)	978-1036
Ravi-Rāma Kulaśekhara-Chakravarti	1089-1102

E. J.—Pillar Inscriptions in the same temple.

Inscriptions E to J which are engraved on the pillars of the *surru-mandapa* or covered circumambulatory passage round the central shrine of the temple register simply the names of their respective donors; and they are all of them dated on the same day when the temple was renovated, namely Kollam year 782, Chitrai 6.

E

On a pillar in the surru-mandapa

1 என் அய்யன் ஸ்ரீ	6 வா கொயிலை
2 சித்திரை மீமன்	7 தானத்தாரில் மெ-
3 உருத்தூன்	8 சசெரி தெவன
4 செயவிதத கெ-	9 திருவிக்கிரமன்
5 ராபுரத்த மாதெ-	10 சதா செவை-

1 T. A. S., Vol. III, p 173, 181.

2 [E, F, H G J, —These are registered as Nos 58 to 62 respectively of the Trav Epig Colln. for 1093 M E]

F

On another pillar

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| 1 எள அய் உ (வந்) சி, த, தி- | 6 பாககாமங்கல- |
| 2 ரை மீ ¹ கூஉ | 7 ம தெசத்தது |
| 3 சித்திரகண்ட- | 8 இச்சுவரன |
| 4 ம உருத்தாண | 9 கொதை ச |
| 5 செயவித்தான் | 10 தாசெவை- |

G

On a third pillar

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1 எள அய் உ (வந்) சி- | 6 வகைக்கு பறகலை- |
| 2 ததிரைமீ ¹ கூஉ | 7 கயில் வளத்தது |
| 3 ருத்தாண செய- | 8 வாககும் பெருமாள |
| 4 வித்த தானகண- | 9 திருவாழ் மாற[ப ¹]ன் |
| 5 கரு அய்யப்பபன ² அய்யப்பபன | 10 சதாசெவை- |

H

On a fourth pillar

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 எள அய் உ (வந்) சி, த, தி- | 4 ததூண செயவித்த |
| 2 ரை மீ ¹ கூஉ சி, த, தி- | 5 விவா தெசத்தது |
| 3 தகண்ட ம உ ரு | 6 கணக்கு ² அய்யப்பபன இரவி |
| | 7 சதாசெவை |

I

On a fifth pillar

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 எள அய் உ (வந்) சி, த, தி- | 5 பாலைக்கொடு |
| 2 திரை மாதம கூஉ | 6 தெசத்தது கணக்கு ² |
| 3 செயவித்த கண- | 7 பாபபன பாபபன |
| 4 ம உ ரு, த, தாண | 8 சதாசெவை |

J

On a sixth pillar

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 எள | 11 ய திருப்பணி கணக்கு ² |
| 2 அய் உ | 12 எழுத்ததுப்பணி |
| 3 (வந்) சி- | 13 செயவிககையு- |
| 4 ததிரை | 14 ம செய்கையில் உரு- |
| 5 மீ ¹ ம கூ- | 15 ததூண செய்வி- |
| 6 உ ராசமா- | 16 தத திருப்பனறிப்பா- |
| 7 சப்ப- | 17 ககத்தது பெரு ² மான |
| 8 எள்ளி | 18 சிவனடியான |
| 9 நாராயணன ² | 19 சதாசெவை |
| 10 சங்கரன ஆளா- | |

1 The word சித்திர has been omitted.

2 These words are all expressed by symbols.

No. 31—Krishnankoyil record of Kollam 887.¹

This Tamil inscription which is engraved on the walls of the *mandapa* in front of the central shrine of the Krishnaśvāmin temple at Krishnankōyil, a suburb of Keralapuram, is dated in the Kollam year 887 and the astronomical details furnished in it give the English equivalent A. D. 1711, August 6.

It records that certain lands were given by a private individual called Śilayāpillai-Arīyakuttu to the temples of Krishna-vinnavar-Emberumān and Kulaśekhara-Vināyakapillaiyār at Ravipuram which were constructed about Kollam 830, when Nayingār (king) Ravi-Ravivarman *alias* Śīrāvāymūta-Tambirānār was the reigning king and that the donor secured from the king certain tax exemptions for these lands. This document was engraved on stone from the original copper-plate record by a descendant of the donor named Settu Velāyuda-perumāḷ residing in the street (*perunderuvu*) called the 'Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśekharapperumāḷ-perunderuvu' of Tiruvīdāṅgōdu (a town) in Malai-mandalam, in the Kollam year, 887.

It is noteworthy that the suburb which grew around the nucleus of the temple was known as Ravipuram and that the Vināyaka was also named Kulaśekhara-Vināyakapillaiyār in honour of the king, to whose charitable disposition the two temples owed certain privileges.

Text.

- 1 சகாததம் சதசாநயந் ந மெல செல்-
- 2 லாநின்ற கொலலம் அராயின ஓஸ் ஆவணி
- 3 ஸீ ருஉ சென்ற தங்களாட்சையும் உத்திரமு-
- 4 ம பூதுவபக்கிழத்து திருதிகையும் ஆணைக்கரணமு-
- 5 சாதத்தித்தியபொகமும பெற்ற இன்னுளால் மலை-
- 6 மண்டலத்து திருவிதாங்கொட்டு இரவிவனம்-
- 7 ராய குலசெகரப்பெருமான பெருந்தெருவில்-
- 8 ச செட்டு வெலாயுதப்பெருமான தம்பிராந்தொழிநெ-
- 9 ன் என காரணவன சிலையாபிள்ளை அரி-
- 10 பகுட்டி முன ஷெயூரில் சொல்லும் கெட்டிவி-
- 11 தது நயினா இரவிபுரத்து ஸீ கிட்டிண விண்-
- 12 ணவ ரென்பெருமானையும் ஷெ கொவிலில் வ-
- 13 டக்கேயிடத்தில குலசெகரவியைகப்பிள்ளை-
- 14 யாரையும் கற்பபகத்துப்பொற்றியைக கொண்டு
- 15 பிறதிட்டையும் செயவித்து சலைசமுமாடிவித்து
- 16 ஷெ நயினாருக்கும் பிள்ளையாருக்கும் பூசை நமந்-
- 17 காரம் அத்தாளம் முததாளம் வைச்சு நெய்-
- 18 வெத்தியம் வக்ககு நாளொன்றுக்கு ஆய் உரி
- 19 ஆக புக சகு ஆய் உரி பருகு ககு ரு உ வித
- 20 ம ராநாந் புக உரி ம ஷெ நயினாருக்கு மாந் வி
- 21 செஷம் ஆட்டைவிசெஷம் வக்ககுப் படி-
- 22 ததரத்திப்படி உளள செலவும் சாந்தியுடன-

¹ This is registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1093 M. J.

23 மகரு ஸ்ரீம க க்கு ளை- உளப நு ஷெ கொவில-

24 ச சன்னதில்ல கிராமக்காரா உடமையும்

[இதுவரை இதுவந்தத தெக்கமுதிலிலும் பாரக்கவும்]

Second panel

25 சங்கத்து நீராட்டுப்பள்ளி மததளம் கைமணி வக்ககுப் படித்தரத்தின்ப-
யு உளள பொறு நிக்க ஸ்ரீம க க்கு உட-

26 மைள- களப் படி உரிம நாகசரம் ஒத்து வக்ககு ஸ்ரீம க க்கு உடமை
யு களப்பா கோதை மகள் வள்ளி உள-

27 விடபா நும குமார மகள் ஆவிடை உளளிட்டாரும தாணுவை மகள் நா-
கா உளளிட்டாரும ஆக முறை

28 க்குடி முக க்குடிப் படி ததரத்தின படி உளள சொறு நீக்கி ஸ்ரீம க க்கு
யு மெய் ம ஷெ கொவிலுக்கு தெ-

29 க்குடி கலையட்டிப் கெட்டினித்து உமையொருபாகப்பிள்ளையாரையும் எழு-
நுத்திழிபு -

30 மையொருபாக முத்தியாரைக் கொண்டு கலசமுமாடி வித்து ஷெ பிள்ளை-
யாருக்கு நாளொ-

31 னறுக்கு வைத்து நெய்வேதியம் ஆ உரி ஆக ஸ்ரீம க க்கு ஆ யிடுஉ க்கு
யு களப் படி உரிம திருமாலை

32 கெட்டு வக்ககு ஷெ மடத்திலிருக்கிற பண்டாரத்துக்கு ஸ்ரீம க க்கு உட
மைள- களப்ப ம ஷெ மடத்தில நி-

33 ததியல் திருப்பெருக்கு அமுதுகொடுக்கிற வக்ககு தன்மபத்தா உடமை-
யு களக்கு உடமையும் பல-

34 வெலை உடமையும் மற்றும பலசெலவுக்கும் முன எழுதிவைத்த பட்டை-
யுத்தின்படி உளள எட

35 வக செலவுக்கும் அவிழைக கட்டலை திருவிளக கெண்ணை மாதவிசேஷம்
ஆட்டன்சேஷம்

36 மற்றும பலவக செலவுக்கும் கூட விசுவபூறுவ தன்மதானப பிறமாண-
மா க முன் எழுதிவை-

37 த, பட்டையத்தின்படி உளள நிலமும் புடைமொழிவின [1*] முன
அளையிடுவ வைகாசி யி யகூஉ நய-

38 னா இரவி இரவ்வற்றாரா சிறவாய்முத்த தம்பிரான திருவுள்ளம் பறதிக
கலப்பித்த நளி ஷெ கிட்டிணனுக்குப் பிள்ளையா-

39 நககும பூரை உளப்பட்ட வக்ககு ஷெ சிலையாடுள்ளே அரியகுட்டிகுக்
கொடுக்க திருமுத்தின்படி அஞ்சாலி மெ-

40 லவாரம் ஒழிந்த நிலமானிது [1*] நாஞ்சினுடடு வடசெரியில் இராசராச-
பெரெரிக்குள்ளு கிள நீராகரம் சிதம்ப-

41 ரஞ்சன் புளளியில் பெரியமடைப்பொக்கு தெக்கு மெடு முதல கண்ணாறு
நெல்மாரி ஷெ ம-

42 மைப்பொக்கில் வகதறைக்கால முதல கண்ணாறு கைதறை ஆக ஷெபுள-
ளியில் தடி-

43 பண்டாரம் பணியறை ஆன புளளியில் ஷெ மடை வடக்கு மெடு
இரண்டாறு கண்ணாறு சாலியன் வய-

- 44 ல கிகு அங்கபம் இசுவரன் காளி புளளியில வடக்கு மடை பததுமரசு-
கால தடிகு . . . ம கடுக்கரையில் அரியகுட்டி
- 45 இரவி புளளியில் புதுக்குளத்தில் கிள்மெல மடைப்பொககு தடிகு . . .
நிலம் ல உளக்கால் தடி
- 46 கட III நகூம உ கூ III ம உ ம குறி தடிகு . . .
ம II . . ம . ம சொனை-
- 47 மாமபள்ளி புளளியில குறி தடிகு . எத I . III ம உ . . .
ம உ நிலம் ம உ . . எக II
- 48 கப ம கிழப் புதுச்சை தடிகு சு உல நும உ . . கூ உல் நு ம ஆக புள்ளி
உ ககு ம இ-
- 49 லுப்பைக காடெரிகுளத்தினசில தடி பலநிலம் ம பிளாகுகொட்டைவி-
ளைபுற ஸுத திரு-
- 50 தது தடி பல உ விசக கொனை ஆறறக்கொணம் தடி பல சுகிம (வ-
டககுப்பிறத்தில் வடக்குமதிலில பாராககம)

Third panel.

- 51 ஆக வடசெரிகடுக்கரை உளப்பட்ட தடி பல ககு அஞ்சா-
லியும்
- 52 மெலவாரமும் ஒழிறது ஷெ கிட்டிணவிண்ண வரென்'புருபான கொவி-
லில
- 53 சிகாரியம் சிபண்டாரம் தானம் தவைககு உளப்பட்ட ஆசெந, திர தாரவெ
சந்திரா-
- 54 தித்தவரைககும் மசுட செசிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டி நிறுமும வெண்டி-
க்கயல ஷெ நில-
- 55 ங்களிலுள்ள பாட்டமும் மலைகுட்டில கொநலலுராபா, மறில பிராயறை-
ககுளத்தின கீ-
- 56 மும் துமபட்டறைககுளத்தின் கீழும் பாககமங்ஙலதது குளத்தின கீழும்
கழனி தடிகுநுபம்
- 57 துமபட்டறைககுளத்தின் கீழும் பாககமங்ஙலதது குளத்தின கீழும் கா
ரைக்காய வட்டம்
- 58 தடி க நிலம் சபம் பாககமங்ஙலதது குளத்தின்கிள கழித்தடி-நிலம் சபம்
பிலாழுட்டுப பறமபு தடி
- 59 நிலம் ஷெ உககு மெககுப புதுக்குழியும் பிராயறைககுளத்தின் கீழ் பிரா-
யறை தடி நிலம் நுபம் மாதத-
- 60 றை தடி நிலம் உபம் ஆககறைககுளத்தின கீள வெள்ளங்கொள்ளி தடிகு
சபம் உக்காடு தடிகு நுபம்
- 61 மாமபறைககுளத்தின கீழ் மாமபறை தடிகுசபம் 7-பன்குழி தடிகு ப
நுஉம மொதிரததுட-
- 62 வயல தடிகு நுபம் கொழிஞ்ஞிததுட-வயல தடிகு சபம் இளையாயிஞ்ஞி-
குளத்தின் கீள் தலத்தடி
- 63 தடிகு சபம் கொழியுண்ணி தடிகு நுபம் மொங்குததுடவயல் தடிகு ந
பம் பறமபுககுழிகடு-

- 64 ஸததாலும் கொற்றலைக்குளத்தாலும் மாவடி தடிகு சபம் கொற்றலைக்கு-
ளத்தாலும் புதிசசைக்குள்-
- 65 ததாலும் பணையடி தடிகு உபம் நெடுங்குளத்தின கீழ் பழஞ்சொற்றுக்க-
ண்டம் தடிகு நபம் பெ-
- 66 நுங்குளத்தின கீழ் மாணங்காணி தடிகு நபம் கொழிப்பறம்பு தடிகு ச-
பம் பால தடிகு
- 67 நுபம் அத்தியடி தடிகு நபம் புதுக்குளத்தாலும் ஆறத்துக்குளத்தாலும்
கண்ணுக்குறிச்சி-
- 68 தடிகு உபம் பெருஞ்சிலம்பில் இடைச்சிறைக்குளத்தாலும் கல்லணைய-
லும் வாழைக்காய்த்துட-
- 69 வயல் தடிகு நபம் குழவிமுலைக்குளமும் ஷே கோணம் நெலம்பாக்கொ-
ட்டு வண்ணா-
- 70 குளத்தின கீழ் மணவாழ்கொட்டமும் வாலமும் தடிகு சபம் ஷேல் ஆழ-
ங்கொட்டங்குளத்தின
- 71 கீழ் நெக்கொட்டையடி தடிகு பம் ஷேல் இழவனகுழமும் அந்நுவறிக-
குழமும் ஷே கோணம் தடி பல நிலம்
- 72 யுக மலைநாட்டு வகவத்து கெட்டைப் பொக்கி உள்ள பாட்டையம் பா-கொ-
ட்டு பெருங்குளத்தின கீழ் மாவடி தடிகு
- 73 நபம் க்கு உள்ள கட்டையும் கொட்டாறம் பெருநாள் அண்ணாவி அஞ்சா-
லி மெலவார பொழிந்த தானம்
- 74 வண்டி அபுரியறை தடி உக சாகு உள்ள பாட்டையும் சாசசையில்
பெற்றாள் விளாகம் புறையி-

Fourth panel

- 75 டததுக்கும் நெய்யூர் அஞ்சாலிவிளாகம் பு-
றையி தத்துக்கும் கடமை நீக்கி உள்ள பாட்டமும் ச-
- 76 வாரி கொவிலை சன்னத்தக்கிராமத்து மனை-
- 77 யும் வாலவீச்சும் பாண்டாரப்பினை இசுவரன் தெவ-
- 78 னைக்கமணக்கொட்டைக்கு கீழ்மெல இராச-
- 79 பெருவழிகும் தென்வடல் பெருவழிகும்
- 80 கிராமத்து வாலவீச்சுக்கும் நடுவில் மனை-
- 81 னும் விளாகங்களும் தென்வடல் பெருவ-
- 82 ழிகும் கீழ்மெல இராசபெருவழிகும் காணி-
- 83 பொட்டு அம்பலத்துக்கும் தனது வக வினை-
- 84 க்கும் ஆக கல்லன் விளைக்கும் கலமடத்துக்கும் நடுவில்
- 85 மனைகளும் விளாகங்களும் பிச்சப்பிள்ளை-
- 86 யார் கொவில் விளாகவும் கின்றயடிவி-
- 87 ளாகவும் திருவிதாங்கொட்டுத் தென்
- 88 வடக்கடையில் மெக்குச்சிறவில் கடை அம் ஷே-
- 89 யில் கிளக்குச்சிற எல் கடை கூட ஆக தெவன்
- 90 விளைக்கு மெற்கு குறவன் விளாகத்துக்கும் கீழ்மெல
- 91 இராசபெருவழிக்கும் தென்வடல் இராசபெ-
- 92 ருவழிகும் நாயகபட்டா விளைகளும் தாணு-
- 93 ளாகத்துக்கும் நடுவில் விளைகளும் கொவி-

- 95 லமதிவகுகும் அநது வறிகொணததுகுகும் கிழமே-
 96 மல் இராசபெருவழிகுகும் நாயககபட்டா வி-
 97 னைகளுகுகும் தாணுவினைகளுகுகும் பண்டாரபிள்ளை
 98 விககிரமன சங்கரன வினைகளுகுகும் (மகர-
 99 தொறணவிளகுகுகு தெகுகும்திலில பாககவும)

Fifth panel

- 100 ஊரான பெருவழிகுகும் நடுவில் வினையனும் தெனவ-
 101 டல ப பெருவழிகுகும் வண்ணை ஈளததுகுகும் அநதுறிகொ-
 102 ணததுகுகும் பண்டாரபிள்ளை விககிரமன சங்கரன வினையனுகுகும் ந-
 103 டில வினையனும் தொப்பும் நந்தாவனமும் அகின கி-
 104 ழகுகுததுண்டுவினைகுகும் ஆக இவவகைகுகுள்ள பாட்ட-
 105 வும் வெண்டி பூசை உளப்பட்ட சிலவும் நடத்திகெ-
 106 காள்ள சிலையாபிள்ளை அரியகுட்டி வீட்டுக்கெ-
 107 காத்த வக இதுவும் செட்டு பிச்சையாரா ஆணைஞ்சபெருமாள்
 108 முத்தாளம் பூசைகுகும் நமக்காரததுகுகும் நாள க-ககு அரி
 109 நனஅ ஆக 5-ம் க-ககு ௭-கள ஆக 5-ம் க-ககு ௭-கள-ககு வி-
 110 டுக கொடுத்த வக கடுக்கரையில் சிறி தடி கூ. . . .
 111 ககு அகப்பறறு உ-ககு உள்ள மெலவாரவும் ஷையில் கடு-
 112 க்கரைப் பள்ளம் தடிகூவரளத II . ககு அகப்பறறு
 113 மெலவாரமும் அாளம் ௨ ஹு கொண்ட அநதநபுரத்த
 114 நெட்டையினுன் குளமும் ஷை கொண்ட மடிகூ
 115 அஞ்சாவி மெலவாரம் பொக்கியுள்ள பாட்ட,
 116 வும் அறஹு ஆவணி மீட ரூஉ செட்டு வெலாயுதப்-
 117 பெருமாள் தம்பிராந்தொழின விட்டுக்கொ-
 118 டுத்த வக வடசெரியில்க கரையும் கடுக்கரையில் கை-
 119 ரயும் காணியாடசையும் ஷையில் குளவும் பணையுடிகெ-
 120 காணததுகுகுளவும் ஆக இவவகைகுகுகு உள்ள நெ-
 121 ல பணவகையை வெண்டி பூசையுளப்ப-
 122 ட்ட சிலவுகள் ஏறப்பெரும் நடத்திக கொள்ளவும்
 123 ஆக இநதவகை ஏறப்பெரும் ஷை கொவில் தமம்பத்தாவும்
 124 ஷை கொவில் சன்னதி கிராமத்து மாசனங்குகும் கூடி
 125 ஷ்சாரித்துக கொள்ளுவாராகவும் இநத தமமத்ததுகுகு அ-
 126 கிதம் செய்த பொ கெங்கை கரையிலே காராம பசு-
 127 வைக கொநந பாபத்தில பொவாராகவும் இநத தமமம் பரி¹

No. 32—Vadaseri Copper-plate of Kollam 945.

The subjoined Tamil record is engraved in the Tamil alphabet on both sides of a single copper-plate, which has been kept as exhibit No. 10 in the Napier Museum, Trivandrum. The plate measures 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " exclusive of a semi-circular projection at the middle on the top of the plate, which contains the Vaisnava triple emblem, a Tenkalai caste-mark flanked on either side by the *śarikha*

1 The further lines which will have mentioned the merit of those who protected the charity are not traceable on the walls of the *mandapa*.

and the *chakra*. The writing is in a good state of preservation and has been engraved between series of thinly marked parallel lines. The place wherefrom the plate was secured is not ascertainable, but from the fact that the inscription records the gifts of certain lands made by two brahman ladies to the Krishna shrine of the temple of Rūpanārāyaṇa-vinnagar-Emberumān at Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in the northern portion of Nāñjinādu, the plate¹ must have belonged to the village of that name. From another inscription² it is learnt that Vadaśeri, a hamlet of Nāgercoil, was called Ādityavarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and the village owed that name perhaps to one of the Vēnādu rulers of the name of Ādityavarman³ who reigned in 1375 and during whose time the village and its temple may have come into prominence. An inscription⁴ of Ādityavarman *alias* Sarvāṅganātha which praises the literary attainments of the king and winds up with a verse in glorification of god Krishna of Vadaśeri is actually found engraved in that temple. The name of the god suggests that it may have got its designation after a king who had the title of Rūpanārāyaṇa. The record is dated both in the Śaka year 1691 and Kollam 945 corresponding to the cyclic year Virōdhi and on a Monday, the 27th day of Pūattāsi with suklapakṣa-lāṣami and nakṣatra Śravana. The details correspond to A. D. 1769, October 9. No king is however mentioned in the inscription.

The record is of some interest on account of the fact that a brahman called Rāmalingam, son of Vaittiliṅga-bhattar of the Kaundinya-gōtra, Āpastambha-sūtra and the Yajus-śākhā and a resident in the south Māḍa street of the village, who had in the previous year made some gifts of land for conducting certain feeding charities in the temple of Krishna, having perhaps deceased suddenly, his two wives (widows), Jānakī-sāmi and Paivatavarddhanī-sāmi undertook to get a regular document drawn up in respect of these gifts, mentioning therein the details of the several items of expenditure connected with the daily feeding of eight brahmans throughout the year of 365 days (*adhikanāl-ulpāda*) and the special feeding of nine additional men during every Tiruvōnam (nak Śravana) thirteen times in the year. All the documents, relating to previous monetary and other transactions, connected with the plots of land now gifted away as charity, in all numbering four and dating from Kollam 915, were deposited in the temple-treasury and a fresh deed was drafted on a cadjan leaf from which again, it is said, this authenticated copy was afterwards incised on copper by an engraver.

As usual in later Tamil documents, the language used is somewhat ungrammatical, with no very special peculiarities, however, except that *tiriyāl* is used for *strīkal* after the omission of the initial sibilant, Krishna is tamilised into *Kittina*, *sahiranyā* has undergone a vulgar transformation into *chakiraniya* and *namaskāram* has slid into the form of *namakkāram*. Grantha letters have been very sparingly used in the record, the only instances being the initial *svasti śrī* and the final *Śrī-Krishnaśvāmi-tunai*. Many misleading numerical as well as verbal

1 This may be copper-plate No. 4 of 1084.

2 No. 66 of 1084, published on page 125.

3 *Tamil State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 265.

4 T. A. S., Vol. I, p. 172.

abbreviations have been employed in the inscription and their proper values are sometimes found difficult to determine with certainty although most of them may be guessed at with reference to the context.

Some of the proper names occurring in this inscription are of the villages Īśānti-mangalam, Varaguna-mangalam, Bhūtappāṇḍi, the rivulets Araśiyār and Tellāṇḍi, and the individuals Ulagunda-va-nāchechiyār, Tambirāntōlan-Śīvalakkutt and Kadambara-nāyar of Iraviman. Bhūtappāṇḍi is a village in the Tovala taluk in South Travancore, and Īśānti-mangalam described as situated in the western portion of Nāñjinādu is a village near Bhūtappāṇḍi.

The name Tambirāntōlan (god's comrade) borne by an individual of the 17th century is reminiscent of the surname of saint Sundaramūrti, an account of whose friendship with the god (*tambirāṇ*) at Tiruvennamallūr in the South Arcot district is narrated in the *Periyapurāṇam*.

A translation of the document has not been furnished as a major portion of it details only the boundaries of the several pieces of land and is not otherwise important.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [1⁶] சகாததம் கதகாகயக ன மெல கொல்ல [1¹] கூசும-
- 2 னு [1¹] விரோதி னு புரட்டாதிமாதம்² உய்வெ [1¹] னுபட்டசுத்து தெசமி-
- 3 யும்² சொமவாரமுடி திரிதிராமயொகமுடி யானைககர-
- 4 ணமுடி பெற்ற திருவொண நடசத்திறத்து நாள் செய்த சகரணி-
- 5 யொத-பூறுவ தறமமதான பிறமாணமாவது [11*] நாளுகிராட்டு
- 6 வடசருவில் ஆதித்தவறமம் சதுறவெதிமங்கலத்து நயினா உ-ரு-
- 7 ப நாராயண விண்ணவ எம்பெருமானா கொளில் சிறி க-
- 8 ஷ்ண சுவாமி சன்னதியில் கிராமத்தில் தெற்கு மாடதெருவில்
- 9 கவுண்டிப கொத்திறத்து ஆ(பதம்)பதம்பருத்திறத்தில் எசரா நா-
- 10 தகியான வைத்திலங்கபட்டா புத்திரன ராமலிங்கன திறியள ச-
- 11 னனகியும் பறுவதவறதகினிசானியொம் கீட்டிணசுவாமி சன்னதி-
- 12 யில் நித்திய நமக்காரத்துக்கும் திருவொண பிரமாண பொச-
- 13 னத்துக்கும் உதகதான பிறமாணம் எழுதிக்குடுத்த பரிசாவ
- 14 து [11*] முன் சயசு [1¹] மாசிமாதம் மசவ எங்கள் பறத்தா ராடல்ககன்
- தான-
- 15 மசெய்த நிலமாவது [1¹] நாளுகிராட்டு மெலவிடாகை ஈசாந்தி-
- 16 மங்கலம் மாங்குளம் கீழ்பால சங்கண்ணாறு² அரசியார்கால்ப-
- 17 பொக்கில் தெள்ளாநதி மடைப்புரவில் தெள்ளாநதி வரி-
- 18 ல் தடி கட³ கரு எல்கையாவது கீழ்பால-
- 19 கை மாடன நாகா உ⁴த்துக்கு மெற்குத்து தென்னெலகை நழு-
- 20 மெல்காலுக்கு வடக்கு மெலெலகை அரசியா கா லுக-

1 Registered as No 1 of the Trav Copper plate Colln for 1098 M. 1.

2 Expressed by a symbol

3 Contains land symbols

4 Symbol for கலம்

- 21 குக் கீழ்க்கு வடவெலகை கணக்கு சங்கராபணன் ராபண்
 22 உததுக்கு தெற்குமாக இவை எலகைக்கு உளபட்ட தென்-
 23 னாந்தி வயல் தடி கஉ 1 உய்சமீம் தெ கண்ணுததி-
 24 ல் மாங்குளம் நடுமலை கலையடி நாற்றடி தடி கஉ- வத 1 ச
 25 ல் 0 உஉ சமீம் க்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எலகை அரகியா நா-
 26 லுதகு பெறகுத தென்னெலகை உலகுடய நாசகிய-
 27 ரா சொலை உததுக்கு வடக்கு மெல எலகை மாங்குளம் ரரை-
 28 க்கும கா லுக்கும் கீழ்க்கு வடவெலகை உலகுடய நாசகிய-
 29 ரா சொலை உததுக்கு தெற்குமாக இவை எலகைக்கு உளபட்ட-
 30 தடி கஉ-வத 1 சல குலை சமீம் வரகுணமங்கலம் கீழ்பால் அ-
 31 ரகியா காற்பொக்கில் நாலபதுமாபற்றில் மணை மாகா-
 32 னரி மலாப்புரவில் இரவிமன கடம்பறநாயா வயல் தடி
 33 கஉ-வத 1 ச ரகியிக்கு எல்கையாவது கீழ் எ-
 34 லகை பிராணுபகாரி சட்டை சிதம்பரன உததுக்கு
 35 மெற்கு தென்னெலகை தம்பிராந்தொழை சீவலக்குடய
 36 உததுக்கு உம கீழ்மெல் காலுக்கும் வடக்கு மெல எலகை நயி-
 37 னா பூதனாசுவாமி உததுக்கு கீழ்க்கு வடவெலகை பூத-
 38 னாதன ராமநாதன் உததுக்கும தெற்குமாக இவை எலகைக்கு
 39 உளபட்ட இரவிமன கடம்பறநாயா வயல் தடி- கஉ-

Second side.

- 40 களக 1 கஉ . . . ரகியிம் ஆக தடி நஉ
 41 சய்சமீம் க்கு னு க பாட்டம் எ-கொட்டை நயி-இல நணைம்குறை வகைக்கு
 42 னீக்கின எ-கொரு யும னீக்கி வரம்படங்கல பாட்டம் எ-கொட்டை உயி அல
 43 னா க-க்கு நமக்காரம் பொ உ-க்கு அரிசி நஉ-க்கு எ-எ உரியும் யிரு
 44 வெளுனம் வகைக்கு எ-உ உரியும் பழநமக்காரம் பொ சும மெற்படி
 பொ உம ஆக
 45 பொ அ க்கு உப்பெரிக்கு வகவசச எ-உயும் ஆக னா க க்கு எ-பஉஉ ஆ-
 க பெர் க க்கு அதி-
 46 கணர் னா நாகுரு க்கு சிலவு நெல கொட்டை உயி க்கு இ ந-உ சு உரியும்
 47 மாதம் தொறும் திருவொணம் நமக்காரம் பெர் க க்கு வைப்பு அரிசி ப
 நஉ-
 48 னும் நெய்வெத்தியம் செய்து சிலவு குடுக்குற வகைக்கு வைப்பு அரிசி நஉ-
 49 னும் ஆக அரிசி வறு உரிக்கு நுல உ க்கு எ-ருமீ உளும் பருபயும் நாலு க-
 றியும் ஆக
 50 வசகுட்டு வகக்கு வெளுசன சிலவு வகக்கு எ-வறு நஉ ந-எ-எ-எ-எ-எ-எ-எ-
 கைபடி திரு-
 51 வொணம் நாள க க்கு எ-கொட்டை வசக ஆக பொ க க்கு ம-உ-எ-எ-
 திருவொணம் யந-

- 52 ககு சிலவு கொட்டை சததசம் ஆக நமக்காரம் திருவொணம் உளபட்டவக
 53 ககு இவகபடி பொக ககு சிலவு வ கொட்டை மெ இ மெ உரியும் மெ
 மபடி
 54 கொண்டு வர சததககலிகு வ கொட்டை சஉ ஆக வ கொட்டை உரியு
 55 ககு இநத தானம் செயத நிலத்தை சபண்டாரத்தில் நினு-
 56 ம பாட்டம் அடைச்ச பாட்ட ம பற்றிக்கொண்டு இநத தறம, ந-
 57 தை பரிபாலனமாக நடத்திவருவார்களாகவும் இநத தறம-
 58 தை பரிபாலனம் செயதவர்கள் சாலாக சாம்ப சாரு-
 59 பபி சா சசிகதை அடைவார்களாகவும் இநத தறம, தை
 60 ஸ்க்கனம் செயதவர்கள் பிரமமதுரோகிபாகவும் விண்ணு-
 61 ததுரோகிபாகவும் சிவததுரோகிபாகவும் பொவார்களாகவும் இப-
 62 படிச்சமமகித்து இநத சகரணியோதக தானபிறமாணம்
 63 ாழ்திக்கும [11] தொம ராமலிங்கன திறிபள சானகிரணியும்
 64 பஅவதவமத்தினிசானியுமெரம் கணீசுவாமி சன்னகிமி-
 65 ல இபபடிக்கு ராமலிங்கன திறிபள சானகிரணியும் பஅவ, ந
 66 வறத்தினிசானியும் ஒப்பு [11] இநத தானபிறமாணம் ஸநாழ்தி-
 67 ன தளிகைமரதேவா கொயில சன்னதி கிராம, நதில் லட்சுமி-
 68 ராயண சொதிரிஷ புத்திறன வைத்திபனான எழுந்த [11] முன்பு
 69 கூயநடுநடு ஆவணிமாதம் கூட புத்தபாணடி அகரநது
 70 மாதெவன் புத்திறன சூரியநாராயணபட்டி உள்ளிட்டாருக்கு கல-
 71 பிச்சகொடுத்த துலியம் சாந்ததிய தாவபிறமாணம்
 72 லை க ம யிவகைக்கு கைத்தடி ஒலை க ம கூர் மெநடு நான்
 73 ளு சம காறத்திகை மாதம் மெ வ சூரியநாராயண உள்ளி-
 74 ட்டாரொடு ஸ்ருத்கு ராமலிங்கபட்டி உட்பட சது நர-
 75 னம் செயது வாவகின ஒலை க ம பணம் ருத ககு ாழ்தி-
 76 வாவகின அறத்த பத்துசீட்டு க ம ஆக ஒலை சம சிற்பன-
 77 டாரத்தில் கையாளிக்கவும் செயதொம் [11] இநத
 78 உத்கதானபிறமாண ஒலை படையததுமப-
 79 டிகுத்த தாமபிரபடடையம் கைளழுதின மெறாடி
 80 ணரில் யிருக்கும் சிலபபம் அணைஞ்ச பெருமாள
 81 திருநெகண்டன எழுந்தது [11] மீக ருஷ்வரதிண்ணை [11]

No. 33 —Vadaseri inscription of Kollam 639.

This record engraved on a pillar set up in the Krishnasvāmin temple at Vadaśeri is in the Tamil language and alphabet. It registers the gift of some money by a certain Dīrgha-bhatta, an Ārya brāhmaṇa for the midday offerings to the god Rūpanārāyaṇa-vinnagar-Emberumān and for feeding a brahman in the temple with those offerings. The astronomical details of the date of donation give the equivalent A. D. 1464, July 9.

The donor Dīrgha-bhatta who is stated to have been a *paradēsi* (foreigner) of the Antarvēdi-rājya was in all probability a northern brāhmaṇa; but it cannot be definitely said whether he was a permanent resident at Vadaśeri or whether the donation was made by him on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the holy places in

the South. Anturvāṇi-rajya' was the ancient name of 'the tract of land between the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, regarded as a sacred region and the principal seat of Aryan brahmanas. It is supposed to have extended from Prayāga to Haridvāra and was also known by the names of Śāśasthali and Brahmāvarta'

Similar donations by northerners have been met with in records of the Tamil districts: the Tiruvorriyūr and Tiruvadi Śiva temples were the recipients of gifts by a Kashmir brahman² in the 12th century

Text.²

First face.			
1	வீழ்விழ்ந்தி [11]	29	வா[ந்]வ-.
2	காநகைகை	30	எனமின்
3	நகடகைகை	31	கூடவை-
4	பகடகைகை	32	சசநிவெ-
5	காநகைகை	33	சசசுசுரு
6	சகடகைகை	34	நகவார-
7	மகடகைகை	35	மாகமுருபி
8	ககடகைகை	36	நாடினா-
9	பெறநகைகை	37	நாடமெ-
10	ந [கை] நகடகை	38	படி கறபிந்த
11	ட [கை] நகடகை	39	இன்கு நாளக
12	டிவடகைகை	40	கரு அமுது படி
13	நகடகைகை	41	உவகரு
14	வடிசுசுதுவெ	42	நெமமு-
15	கிமககைகை	43	ரம [11] உப்பு அமு-
16	நகடகைகை	44	கருகரு உரி
17	நகடகைகை	45	ஆக
18	நகடகைகை	Third face.	
19	பருமான் கொ-	46	நெ உரி [11] ம
20	வின்கைகை	47	ஆக ம [11] கருகரு
21	நக (சுரி) கை	48	கரு உதகை
22	ககடகைகை	49	ஆக
Second face.		50	ஆண்டு கரு மிக
23	கிந்த [க]	51	நாளக கரு மாக
24	பருமான் கொ-	52	நெ
25	கனில [க]	53	கரு நூற்று-
26	வடிசுசுது	54	கரு மூன்று
27	நகடிசு	55	கொட்டை கொ-
28	நக உசு	56	வனு கிழககாடு
		57	உய்யம் கொ-

1 गङ्गायामुनयोर्मध्यदेशः । आप्रयागहरिद्वारपर्यन्तदेशः । ब्रह्मावर्तदेशः । तत्पर्यायः शशस्थली ॥
—Sadbakalpadruma, Vol I, p 54

एते भगवत्यौ भूमिदेवानां मूलमायतनमन्तर्वेदिपूर्वेण कलिन्दकन्यामन्दाकिन्यौ सगच्छेते ।
—Anargharāghava, 7 (Apte)

2 Madras Epig. Rept for 1922, p. 103

3 Registered as No 66 of the Trav. Epig. Colln for 1984 M P

4 This is not understood.

58 ண்டு நட, துதுமப-
 59 டி கறபித்து இ-
 60 துக்கு ஸ் சாநூ-
 61 ம சருவத்துக்கு
 62 ஸ் உம் ஆக
 63 ஸ் சாநூ ம ட-
 64 ராதம க க்கு இ-
 65 லையமுது அ-
 66 டைக்காயமு-
Fourth jace
 67 துகக் ஸ் வ ம
 68 சந்தனக்-
 69 ரப்புக்கு ஸ் வ
 70 ம நெய்யமு-
 71 துக்கு ஸ் வ ம க-
 72 நியமுதுக்கு
 73 ஸ் வ ம ஆக ஸ்
 74 க க்கு மாஸம்
 75 க க்கு பவிசை
 76 கொண்டு ந-
 77 டக்குமபடிக்கு

78 ஸ் நூ ம ஆக
 79 ஸ் நூ ம ஆ-
 80 அநு[த*]ர முட்டாம-
 81 ல நடக்குமபடி-
 82 கறபித்து திரு-
 83 பபடியில் உடி-
 84 கம் செய்து உடி[த*]-
 85 வுவுவாக்க இப-
 86 பணம் அஞ்ஞாறு-
 87 ம உலையம் செ-
 88 காண்டொ மிகெ-
 89 காயிலில் கஜி-
 90 கனம் உளவாரி-
 91 யஞ் செய்வாநூம்
 92 பரஜெஸிகனம் ஆ-
 93 அநுஜாரம் முட்டாம-
 94 ல நடக்குமபடிக்கு டி-
 95 வுவுவாக்க இப-
 96 பநாராயண விண்ணகா எ-
 97 மபெருமானுக்கு [11]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 11th day of the month of Karkataka in the Kollam year 639, which corresponded to a Monday, Uttiram, fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight, the provision made as charity by Dīrgha-bhattar, an Ārya immigrant from Antarvēdi-rājya, for feeding one brahman daily with the food offered to the god during the midday-service in the temple of Rūpanārāyana-vinnagar-Eṇberu-māṇ of Vadaśeri *alias* Śrīmat Ādityavarma-chaturvēdunaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Nāṇjīnādu is as follows:—

For 2 *nālī* of rice, 5 *nālī* of paddy and for salt, 1 *uri* of paddy,—in all 5 *nālī* and one *uri* of paddy for one day, *i. e.*, 1 *kalam* 2 *tūni* 5 *nālī* for a month and 12 *kōṭṭai* of paddy for a year inclusive of the excess of 6 days. With this, the charity had to be conducted

For this, 430 *panam* at the rate of 3 *kōṭṭai* for 100 (*panam*) and 20 *panam* for a (*śaruvaṁ*) brass pot,—in all, 450 *panam* (was given).

$\frac{1}{4}$ *panam* for betel leaf and arecanut offering, $\frac{1}{4}$ *panam* for sandal-paste, $\frac{1}{4}$ *panam* for ghee, and $\frac{1}{4}$ *panam* for vegetables: *i. e.*, for one *panam* which was to be obtained as interest per month, 50 *panam* (was given);

i. e., in all, 500 *panam* (was given), and the charity had to be conducted unremittingly till the moon and the stars (last).

We, the temple servants, supervisors¹ and *paradēsis*² received this 500 *pa-*

1 The meaning of *uḷāreyaṁ-ṣeyvār* is 'officers in charge of the internal supervision of the temple'. *Aqappoluvāl* of earlier records in northern Travancore is analogous to it

2 The meaning of *paradēsi* in this instance need not necessarily refer to other Aryan immigrants, but may signify East Coast brahmins in charge of the temple management or simply mendicants.

nam with libation of water on the temple threshold, (and agreed) to Dīrgha-bhāttaṇ to conduct (the charity) to (the god) Rūpanārāyaṇa-vinnagar-Emberumān. till (so long as) the moon and stars (endure)

No. 34—Inscription in Krishnankoyil.

This inscription which is engraved on the east base of the flagstaff in front of the Krishnasvāmin temple at Krishnankōyil, records that the staff was installed by a certain Ganapati, a resident of Kulattūr in Kollam 945 A. D. 1770, May 7.

Text.¹

- 1 உகாசயிரு ஹ்ரு விக்ருதிவருஷம் சித்திரையாதம் உயிவு திருகழக்கிழ-
மையும் சித்திரைநட்சத்திரமும் பூம-
- 2 வபட்சத்து சூயொதெசியும சித்திராமயொகமும் பனறிககாணமும் இந்த-
சபதினத்தில் சூசபறிட்டை த[று]மம்
- 3 குளத்தூரான கணபதி சதாசொவை உ

Translation.

In the (Kollam) year 945, (which corresponded to the cyclic year) Vikṛiti, on the 28th day of the month of Chittirai, which was a Monday and the 13th (lunar) *tithi* of the first fortnight, with nakshatra Chitrā, Siddha-yōga and Paṇṇi karana—on this auspicious day, the charitable (act of) setting up of the flag (-staff) was (done as) the service of Ganapati of Kulattūr.

No. 35—Fragmentary Records of the same place.

The other three inscriptions of this temple are fragments, of which two give the Kollam years 548 and 708 respectively, while the third has neither beginning nor end, but seems to have formed part of a record relating to some provision for the feeding of twelve brahmins on *dvādaśi* days. The texts of the dated fragments are however given below, as they may be found useful at some later date.

The king mentioned in the first record is apparently Ādityavarman Sarvāṅganātha, while the king of the other record is Venrumankonda Udayamārttāṇḍavarman. Their names are traceable only in part in these inscriptions.

No 67 of 1084

- 1 ஷ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ கொல்லம் ஞாசயி ஹ்ருயனூராயறறு உயிவு செனற நாள்
- 2 ஸ்ச்சது ஷ்ஷிமிகலத்து திருகூடலூர் யஜ்ஞநாராயணஸ்ட்ட
- 3 த்ருவதித்திருவடி கொயிறகனமிகள் தன்மதானமாகக்குடுத்த

No 70 of 1084

- 1 ஷ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ அருளிச்செயல் கொல்லம் ஞாசு ஹ்ருகாததிகை

2 மயராசாயன் வெனமனகாண்டபூதலவீர . . .
 3 காவலமரி பரியன் சொகசன பெரியபெருமாள் . . .

No. 36 — Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 839.

Regarding this inscription, the following note has been made in the *Annual Report on Archaeology for 1906 M. E.* —

It states that Īchehamm-ādikuttiyuma and Ayyappan-Māittāndan of Śeruvikivīḍu in C'maymkīl' nēsam were granted the land called Śeriyarānnivilai in Neyyāttinkarai-ḍēsam. On this gift-land in Neyyāttinkarai, they built a *hal-māṭṭan* and *mbalam*, i. e. a shed for travellers and a shrine. For the expenses connected with the consecration ceremony, for the performance of worship of the god Achārappillai and for the proper upkeep of the flower-garden attached to the shed certain house-site gardens and lands were assigned by the donors. A list of them is given. Among the lands so granted there were two, of which portions of income had been previously assigned to two temples and the balance only was available for the present grant. These two temples are Rāmēśvarattu-Mahālēva and Kandalūr-śālai-Mahālēva. The slab on which this inscription is engraved, as well as another bearing inscription No. 2 of Appendix B, which are now preserved in the Trivandrum Museum, appear to have been brought from some place near Neyyāttinkarai and Kulitturai, as their contents indicate. The former being from Neyyāttinkarai Kandalūr-śālai mentioned in it is probably identical with Kandalūr, situated 6 or 7 miles from Neyyāttinkarai. Kandalūr is repeatedly referred to in Chola inscriptions, where it also occurs in the contracted form Śālai. Earlier references to Kandalūr are found in a copper-plate record of the Āy chief Karunanda-dakkaṇ (=866 A. D.) and the Śendalai pillar epigraph of the 8th century A. D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 137). Chēra kings maintained a powerful fleet at this place as well as at Talaikkulam and Karaikkandīśvaram, and several attempts were made by neighbouring kings to destroy them. Successive Chōla sovereigns from the time of Rājārāja I claim to have cut off ships at Kandalūr-śālai which, as we have noted already, was shortened into Śālai. Rājādhirāja I is another of the Chōla kings, who claims to have destroyed the ships at Kandalūr. His long introductions refer to the event by the phrase "Kandalūr-śālaikalam-arutta". His Ka-nyākumāri inscription, like many others, summarises briefly his military achievements thus — "*Vīra-Pāṇḍiyan-talaiyum Śeralan-Śālayum Ilaiyayum tandāl-konda*". The clause means "he who by means of his army took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the Śālai of the Chēra king and Lanka". This introduction makes it plain that *Śālai* is the name of a place and not a common noun meaning a 'charity institution'. The employment of the words '*tandāl-konda*' 'who took by means of his army,' and the combination of them with Vīra Pāṇḍya's head and Lankā would preclude the assignment of any other meaning. In this connection, it may be noted that two other inscriptions, not dated in any particular king's reign, mention "*Karaikkandīśvarattu kalam-arra yānda*" and "*Talaikkulattu kalām-arra yānda*". These have been wrongly connected (*vide. Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II, p. 2) with Rājārāja I; but there is not the least warrant for this, as neither 'Śālai' nor 'Rājārāja' is mentioned in these records.

Text.¹

First face.

- 1 ஸ்ரீம கெணபதெ நம [1^௧]
- 2 தனுஷில வியாழம
- 3 நினைற கொலலம்²
- 4 அரந.டுக.டுஸ் சித்தி-
- 5 ரை மாதம் ந.உ.செ
- 6 னற வியாழவாச-
- 7 சயும சித்திரையும
- 8 ஸ்ரீவபககிழத்த பவு-
- 9 ரணியும யினனா-
- 10 ரல சிறியினகிழதெ-
- 11 சத்த செலுவளளி-
- 12 ஸீட்டிஸ் யிச்சமமா-
- 13 திருட்டியும கணக்கு அயய[ப*]-
- 14 பன மாததாண்டன-
- 15 கூட நெயயாற்றங்க-
- 16 ரெ தெசத்த மாங்காவி-
- 17 யில் செறியதாநி வி-
- 18 னைக்கு மூத்த தம்புரான
- 19 திருவுள்ளம்பற்றி க-
- 20 ல்பபிச்ச தந்த திருமு-
- 21 கத்தினபடி ஓள்ள செ
- 22 வினையில கலமடமு[ம*]
- 23 கல்லம்பலவும கெட்டி-
- 24 சசு செ ஹி பங்குனி-௦-²[ம்]-
- 25 * கெல[ச]மாடுகயி[ல்]
- 26 செ மடத்தில தலைசெழ-
- 27 காற்றாக வாற திருபெ-
- 28 ரு ருமபரதெசி நீராக-
- 29 ரத்துக்கும் ஆசாரபி[ள^௧]னை-
- 30 யாரையும பூசித்து நந-
- 31 தவன பணிவிடையும
- 32 செய்திருக்கிற பண்ட[ர*]-
- 33 ரத்துக்கு ம[ற]றும மிடை ப-
- 34 ட்ட பல சிலவுக்கும் திருவி-
- 35 ளக்கு எண்ண[யு]ள-
- 36 பட்ட பணிவகைக்கு[ம*]
- 37 கூட உதகடூறவ த-
- 38 மமதான பட்டயமாக
- 39 சந்திராதிததா வரை-
- 40 க்கு நடக்கும் படிக்கு

1 Registered as No. 3 of the Trav. Epig. Colln for 1096 M. E.

2 The date corresponds to A. D. 1664, March 31.

Second face

- 41 சிலாஸிகி-
 42 மாக நாம வ-
 43 டடு குடுதத நெ-
 44 நகளும புரெ-
 45 யடநகளும-
 46 ரவது [11'] திரு
 47 முகத்தினம் 11-
 48 [டி கடம்] அடக்கி
 49 வெணடின
 50 செறியதாநி
 51 விளை யுளளி-
 52 ட்ட புரெயடக-
 53 னாககும் ஷெ விளை-
 54 யிலும் பிற கரி-
 55 யிலும் குடக-
 56 [ருசவ] நகழு-
 57 டய வாணுய-
 58 திருத்தின தாநி-
 59 யம் யுளளிட்ட
 60 தடி பல உ ள-
 61 வும நயினா [ரா]டு-
 62 மசுரதது மாடு-
 63 த[வ]ர் பறறில் நி-
 64 நது கடம் அடக்கி
 65 காராமயாக
 66 விட்டு தந்தன-
 67 . பிலாவிளை-
 68 யும ஷெல கீழ்பி-
 69 நதது வெட்டித்தி-
 70 ருத்தது தடி ஒன-
 71 னு உ ள-பம் எவ-
 72 கள தாய்ம்-
 73 ரார் சிரிதன-
 74 ம் பெற்றதுடை-
 75 யொ மாயி
 76 ஆண்டனு-
 77 பவித்தது வருகி-
 78 ற மாநாவி[யி]-
 79 ல் பெருவழி-
 80 கரு தென பிற-
 81 ன் கண்டலில்
 82 [ரா]மெசுரதது

Third face

- 83 மாடுதவாகரு அஞ்சிலெர-
 84 னறு வார[ம*]பெரகவெண்-

- 85 நிம வலியவயல உளரிட்ட
 86 தடி எ²- உள நடுவும [கொ]-
 87 லலயில பாருகுளத்தின கி-
 88 மு மஞ்ஞ, பக, கு²மே [ம] அ-
 89 யிககா வட்டத்து புதுக்குளத்தி
 90 ன் கீழ [எ] ரிரசிலற தடி க
 91 ²-மே²-ம ஷெ, தடி உகா எய-
 92 ருசரிநி ருத்தியும் மஞ்ஞற-
 93 . . . கடம்பும் பொன்னும்
 94 ஓணாகொட்டு எண-
 95 யொன் குளத்தின் கீழ
 96 குளத்தற தடி க உயபம் ரு²-
 97 ந கண்டம் உசபம் வித்து-
 98 கொளரி உயபம் . ஷெ
 99 தடி க உயபம் எள்ளல் தடி
 100 ²-மே² கபரு காயடி தடி²- உ
 101 . . . ருமள மெச்சன் உ அப
 102 வளரிவாற்ற ²- பம் குள-
 103 வாடி தடி² உயபம் புளிய-
 104 டி தடி²- உயபம் மெக்குதெ-
 105 ர புவச்ச [பு]ரெயடத்தில
 106 பாதுயம் ஷெ சாயல புளி-
 107 யடி தலெபுரொட்டத்தி-
 108 னு வடக்கு கீழக்குதரெ வி-
 109 த்துநொள்ளி வயல் தெ-
 110 ல புரெயடத்தினு வட-
 111 க்கு நீர்ச்சருவுகள்க்கும்
 112 அகத்து அகபட்ட கரப்-
 113 புரெயடத்துளில் பாதி-
 114 யும் ஆலத்தூர தெசத்து ச-
 115 ரப்புக்காட்டில் குளத்தின கி-
 116 மு காந்தனூ சாலை ம-
 117 ரதெவாகு வாரம் பெரக
 118 வெண்டு மருதற தடி க உ
 119 மே பம் செறிய புளியடி
 120 தடி க உரு பம் புத்தற தடி க உ
 121 ரு பம் கொணத்த தடி க உ
 122 க பம் தெக்கெப்புத்தற தடி க உ
 123 சபம் கானகொட்டு

Fourth face.

- 124 செறகொட்டு
 125 புரெயடங்கு [ஆ]
 126 கயிவ்வக [தடி]
 127 பல உயகளய
 128 கபம் யிந்த பு-
 129 ரெயடங்கு [ம்*]
 130 கூட மடப்பிறம்-

- 131 ராசு சந்திராகித-
 132 தா வராகம
 133 தமமட டடககும்-
 134 பழ விடகெகும்-
 135 தது [11] யிரத மட த-
 136 தமம டடகத வ-
 137 ருமிட தது யாத-
 138 ரமொருவா யி-
 139 ரத மடத்துககும் நி
 140 லங்களுககும் பு
 141 ரெபடங்களு
 142 ககும் அகதம
 143 சபதபொக-
 144 ள தங்கள் மா-
 145 தா பிதாவை
 146 கானழ தொழ-
 147 ததிவம பிறும-
 148 ணரை கொன-
 149 ற தொழத்திலு-
 150 ம கெங்கைக-
 151 ரயில் காறும்-
 152 பசுவை கொ-
 153 ன்ற தொழத்தி-
 154 ல பொவாறாக-
 155 வும யிரத தமம-
 156 ததுககு அனுக்-
 157 லம செயப-
 158 வாகள பர-
 159 மசுரனுடைய
 160 பாதாரவிந-
 161 தத்தில் சொ-
 162 வாறாகவும் [11^k]
 163 ராஜகௌ-

Translation.

Om ' Adoration to Ganapati !

The following are the lands and *puraiyidams* which we, Ayyappan-Mārt-tāṇḍan and Īchchamādikkutṭiyuma of Cheruvallivīdu in Chirayinkīl-dēśam, assigned—on this day, *i.e.*, after three days of the month of Chittirai of the Kollam year 839, when Jupiter was in Dhanus, and which corresponded to Thursday, the Chitrā-nakshatra and the full moon *tithi*,—as a charitable gift followed by libation of water, to last as long as the moon and the sun endure, and we had the gift engraved on stone, for supplying water to strangers, for the *pandāram* who conducts the worship of the god Ayyappa, and does the service of maintaining the flower-garden and for other incident expenses, as well as for the money required for the expenses of supplying oil to sacred lamps to be kept in the stone shrine,

built and consecrated on the 14th day of Panguni in the said year, in the Śeriyatānnivilai of Māñālī in the village of Neyyāttinkarai, according to the royal order which the reigning king¹ had been pleased to grant to us.—

The gardens and other lands comprised in Śeriyatānnivilai, which had been obtained by us inclusive of *kadamai* according to royal order.—

land of 3 *kalam* comprised in many *tadī*s in Vāmyatiruttu of . . .

Pilāvilai, situated in the holdings of the temple of Rāmēśvarattu-mādēvai with the right of enjoyment of *kārānmai* and *kadamai*;

the land called Vettitiruttu (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuruni* comprised in one *tadī*, situated to the east of the above;

the middle portion of the land called Vahiyavayal and some other lands (having the sowing capacity) of 2 *kalam* comprised in seven *tadī*, situated on the southern side of the high road in Māñālī, which had been under our enjoyment, having been obtained by our maternal relations as *strīdhana*, exclusive of one in five of the *vāram* assigned already to the temple of Rāmēśvarattu-mādēva;

the land called Maññarakara, measuring 10 *para*, comprised in a *tadī* and situated to the east of the tank named Kollayil-māṅgulam;

the land called Erichchilāra (having the sowing capacity) of 10 *nūli* comprised in one *tadī* to the east of the tank of Pudukkulam.

the *kadama* and gold from Errāsariviruttu, Maññāra .

the land called Kulattara to the east of Enayōnkulam in Ōmaṅgōdu measuring 10 *para*, comprised in one *tadī*,

. . . . kadam, (having the sowing capacity) of 4 *kuruni*;

Vittukolli, (having the sowing capacity) of 7 *kuruni* and another of 2 *kuruni*;

Vallal, measuring 1 *kuruni*, comprised in two *tadī*,

Kāyaḍi, measuring . . . , comprised in two *tadī*,

Malamechchan, measuring 8 *kuruni*,

Vaḷlivāra, measuring 1 *kuruni*,

Kulavadi, measuring 2 *kuruni*, comprised in two *tadī*.

Puliyadi measuring 2 *kuruni*, comprised in two *tadī*;

half of Mēkkuttara Pūvachcha-purayadam,

half of the land measuring 3 *kuruni* situated to the north of Puliyadi-talaippurayidam, to the north of Vittukollivayal-talaippurayidam and the lands *karappurayidam* included in the water course;

the land called Marudara situated to the east of the tank of Sarappukkādu in the village of Ālattūr, measuring 12 *kuruni* comprised in one *tadī*, obtained exclusive of the *vāram* assigned to the temple of Kāṇḍalūrsālai-mahādēva;

Śeriyapuliyadi, measuring 5 *kuruni* comprised in one *tadī*,

Puttara, measuring 5 *kuruni* comprised in one *tadī*,

Kōnam, measuring 1 *kuruni* comprised in one *tadī*,

1 The Mūtta-Tambūṇ is probably Vīra Ravi-Ravivarman

Tekkepputtana, measuring 4 *kurumi* comprised in one *tadi*;
the *puraiyidams* of Śerukōdu in Kanakkōdu,

Thus, in all, land measuring 11 *kalam* and 11 *kurumi* comprised in many *tadis*

These *puraiyidams* also were assigned towards the requirements of the shed, so that the charity may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun endure.

While the charity relating to this shed is being conducted, if any one should cause evil to this shed, and to these lands and *puraiyidams*, he shall incur the sin of killing his mother and father, the sin of killing Brāhmanas and the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges. Those who act in favour of this charity, shall attain the lotus feet of Paramēśvara. Be it well'

No. 37—Trivandrum Museum Inscription of Kollam 957.

This Tamil inscription is engraved on a slab now preserved in the Government Museum at Trivandrum; but it must have belonged to Kulitturai.

It is dated in Kollam 957 and states that a private individual named Pich-chai-Pillai Kappam-Pillai of Mañjavilāgam house in the village of Kulitturai constructed a shed to the east of the market, sunk a well, fitted it with a water-cistern in stone, and made a gift of land. Arrangements were made to refresh men and animals passing on the way. Men were employed at the shed to see that the cistern was kept filled with water at all times, so that jaded animals may quench their thirst. Travellers were also offered cool or hot water for drinking, pickles to eat, chunam for chewing and torches to help them in their night journey. It is stated that arrangements were also made to see that ropes and *pālai* (palmyrah leaf basket) were kept ready always for drawing water from the well and that the shed was properly roofed, and kept tidy all through the year. This private charity speaks for itself and needs no comment. Other similar inscriptions show that there were similar rest-houses maintained, affording comfort to travellers on the roads at Nattalam, Ārūr, Pudūr and Mayilōdu near Tiruvīdāṅgōdu. The *ambalam* at Mayilōdu supplied way-farers with buttermilk also. It is enough to say that these free refreshment stages existed at short intervals on main roads of traffic to give shelter to, and to relieve considerably the fatigue of travellers, in those pre-railway days when pedestrianism and carts were the only modes of travel.

It may be noticed that although the script employed is Tamil, the language which is mainly Tamil is interspersed with a few Malayalam expressions and forms. The English equivalent of the date of the record is A. D. 1782, July 22.

Text.¹

- 1 தனுவில் வியாளம்
- 2 நின்ற கொல்லம் கூர்-
- 3 நுமளவூர் ஆடி மாத-
- 4 ம பதது சென்ற தி-
- 5 ஐகளாட்சையும் மூலவும
- 6 பூரபட்சத்து திறையொடு-
- 7 தசியும் இன்னாளால் குளு-
- 8 ததுறை தெசத்து மஞ்சவி-

- 9 ளாகத்து வீட்டில பிச்சப்பிள்-
 10 னை கனனம்பிள்ளை மெல-
 11 ப்படி தெசத்தது பழயசந-
 12 தயில கிளக்கெப்பி-
 13 றத்தில அம்பலவும கெ-
 14 டடி கிணறும் வெட்டி-
 15 தொட்டியும் அடிச்சிட-
 16 டு தொட்டியில வெள்ளை
 17 கொரிவிக்கவும சாலி-
 18 ல குடி வெள்ளை கொரிவி-
 19 டவும வெள்ளை ஊறுகாய்
 20 குடுக்கவும சுண்ணாம்பு
 21 வெணடி இடவும பாளையும கய-
 22 றும் வகைக்கும் ஷே அம்பலம் ஒ-
 23 ல கெட்டு வகைக்கும் நடக்கா-
 24 வு தூட்சிக்கவும¹ இநத வகைக-
 25 ள ா[ல்லா]ம நடத்தி வருகி-
 26 ற பண்டாரங்களுக்கு நி-
 27 லவும புரயெட்டும் செம்மம் செ-
 28 [ந]டிவட்டுருக்க வகை பா-
 29 கொடு தெசத்து மெக்கின-
 30 நகரை மெலெ வீட்டு

Second face

- 31 மெலவீட்டு விளாக
 32 புரயிடத்தி [எய ரப்]² காசை
 33 வெணடி சிலவீட்டுக கெ-
 34 ாளாருவாராகவும [1*] இநத எ-
 35 ளுத்தினபடி உள்ள தறம்ம
 36 களியும் நடத்திவருகிற பண-
 37 டாரங்களுக்கு நிலவும பு-
 38 ரயடவும் செம்மம் செ[ந]டி[வி]-
 39 ட்டிக குடுத்தவகை அண்-
 40 டுகொடு தெசத்து அ[ளிலை]-
 41 கொட்டு கொணத்து ராதி-
 42 ரியானகளுததாலும்
 43 தெவன்குளத்தாலும் கிள-
 44 வெங்கெற்ற தடி க நிலம்
 45 [ஈ ப] ஷே தெசத்து வெங்கெ-
 46 ரங்குளத்தின கிள பட்டபற
 47 தடி க நிலம் ஈ ப[மு]வனனு-
 48 தெசத்து சுரப்பாலைகளுத்தி-
 49 னங்கிள ஊளாற தடி க நி-
 50 லம் எப நி உ-ம வயல்கலக்க
 51 ல நிக்கும் தென்கு ஈ-ம புனனை
 52 க ம ஆக தடி ஈ நிலம் கள சபரு-

1 This word is a variant of ஸூக்கிகவும.

2 Probably எழுபத்தை.

- 53 உந தெவகு ந-ம புன்னை க-ம
 54 ஷெ அமபலதது வடக்கு ப்[ஹி]தது
 55 விளா[க]ததி[ல] இருக்கிற வீடு-
 56 ம விளாக விருட்சங்க-
 57 னும பஞ்சக்கடயில் தெக்கெ-

Third face

- 58 விளாகம் புர-
 59 யடத்தினு [நாலெ]-
 60 லகை கீ[ளெ]-
 61 ல்லை அரசன்-
 62 செரி விளாக-
 63 த்தினும மெக்கு [தென]-
 64 னல்ல இடலை-
 65 க்குந வடக்கு மெ[லெ]-
 66 ல்லை தாளாக-
 67 [கெ]டு புரமிடத்தி-
 68 னும கிளக்கு வ-
 69 டவல்லை நாவறெ-
 70 விளாகத்தினு-
 71 ம தெக்கு இவெ(ள்)-
 72 லகை நடுவில்
 73 கிடந்த மெலெ-
 74 ட்டு விளாகம்
 75 புரையிடத்தினு
 76 னுல க-க்கு பாட்ட ர
 77 யஉல தனங்க-
 78 ராம ர கஇ-யும நீ-
 79 ககி ர யஇ-க்கும கி-
 80 லவு ஷெ அமபல-
 81 ம் ஒலகட்டு வ-
 82 கைக்கு ர கூ-ம
 83 பாளையும கயறு-
 84 ககும ர உ-ம சு-
 85 ணை[ம பு]-
 86 க்கு ர கஇ-யும ஊ-
 87 றுகாமி [வகை]க்கு
 88 ம[ரக] சரி வழிபொ-
 89 ககிக்கு சூட்டுக்கு-
 90 டிக்கிறவகைக்கு ர க-
 91 ம் ஆக இநத வகைக்கு டெ-
 92 சலவு ர யஇ-யும இது-

Fourth face

- 93 [வு] ந தெழிக்கா-
 94 வ வீட்டில் பொ-
 95 கம் உடமயாக
 96 அனுபவிச்சு-
 97 கொண்டு எளு-
 98 தின பிற(ர)காற-

- 99 ம் தம்மம் [ந]டப்[தி]-
 100 வைக[க]உம ச-
 101 ஸுவகாரயமு
 102 தருமம் நடத்திக்
 103 கொள்ளுவாரா-
 104 கவும இநதபபடி த-
 105 மமம் நடநதுவரவெ
 106 எதொரு காலவும யா¹.
 107 தா ஒருதத ஆகி-
 108 லும தம்மமத்து
 109 க்கு விககினம் வரு
 110 தகின் பொகள்
 111 இ[நத] தம்மம் மு-
 112 டககின பாவம்
 113 [ஏ]றறுககொ-
 114 ளளவாஅ-
 115 கவும இநதப-
 116 படி தம்மதிச-
 117 சு ஷெ அம்பல-
 118 ததுக்கு இநத வரு-
 119 மபடி எல்லாம்
 120 தானமாக ஆ-
 121 செந்திரகாஸமெ
 122 தநதெதிப்பிற-
 123 தெசமெ கல்லு
 124 வெட்டி நாட்டிசு-
 125 தெத பிசசடி-
 126 ன்ளை கன்ன-
 127 ம பிளளை கு-
 128 மரசுவாமி துணை [||*]

Translation.

On this day tenth, expired, in the month of *Ādi* of the Kollam year 957, when Jupiter stood in *Dhanus*, (and which corresponded to) Monday, the *Mūla*-(*nakshatra*), and the thirteenth (*tiṭhi*) of the first fortnight, *Pichchappillai-Kaṇṇam-pillai* of *Mañjavilāgam* house in the village of *Kulitturai* built a shed, dug a well, made a water-cistern on the eastern side of the old market in the said village, and assigned the following lands and house-site gardens and money for drawing water and filling up the cistern, for drawing drinking water and keeping it in a pot (*śāl*), for supplying hot-water and pickles, for giving *chunam*, for keeping a palm-leaf basket and rope, for thatching the shed with palm-leaves, for supervising the shrine *Naḍakkāvu* in it, for the *pandāram* and who had to manage these arrangements.—

1 The syllables *வரவெ* are entered below the line

2 The letters 'அம் யா' are engraved below the line.

seventy and half *kāṣu* shall be obtained from the house-site garden of Mēlavittu-vilāgam situated in Mēkkimkaraṭṭu in the village of Pākōdu and used for expenses

The following are the lands, gardens and money, assigned for the *paṇḍārams* who have to conduct the charities mentioned in this written deed:—

land (having the sowing capacity) of 6 *kuruni* comprised in one *taḍi* in Kilveṅgarai, fed by water from Dēvankulam and Pādriyāṅkulam and situated in Āhllakōttu-kōṇam forming part of the village of Andukōdu.

land (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kuruni* comprised in one *taḍi* in Padappaṛa under the tank of Veṅgarāṅkulam and situated in the same village;

land having the sowing capacity of 7 *kuruni* and 5 *nāḷi* comprised in one *taḍi* in Ulāra under the tank of Śurappālakulam and situated in Muvannudēśam,

3 cocoanut trees and 1 *puṇṇai* tree standing on the land called Vayal-kalakkaḷ;—

all together, (the portions assigned) are 3 *taḍi* of land having the sowing capacity of 1 *kalam* 4 *kuruni* and 5 *nāḷi*, three cocoanut trees and one *puṇṇai*.

The house situated in the *vilāgam* on the northern side of the shed together with the trees standing in the same *vilāgam* (were) also (given)

The four boundaries of Tekkivilāgam-purayidam of Paṇjukkadaḷ (given to this) are:—

The eastern boundary is to the west of Araṣaṅṣeri-vilāgam: the southern boundary is to the north of Idalaḷ: the western boundary is to the east of Tāḷaga-kōdu-purayidam: and the northern boundary is to the south of Nāvarai-vilāgam.

Out of the annual *pāttam* money viz, 12 *paṇam* due on the Mēlavittu-vilāgam-purayidam lying within the above named four boundaries, after deducting 1½ *paṇam* for . . . , the expenses for the remaining 10½ *paṇam* are:—

6 *paṇam* for thatching the said shed with palm-leaves

2 *paṇam* for palm-leaf baskets and rope;

1½ *paṇam* for chunam and for pickles; and

1 *paṇam* for supplying wayfarers with torches

thus the 10½ *paṇam* are for these items of expenses.

Thus shall the incomes from Telikkāvu-vīdu be rightfully enjoyed and the charities mentioned in this written deed conducted. If, while the charities are being conducted in this manner, any one should at any time, cause obstruction to this charity, he shall incur the sin of having stopped this charity. Thus agreeing, Piṇṇaippillai-Kaṇṇampillai assigned all these incomes as free gift to the said shed, so that they may last as long as the moon exists and be enjoyed in succession. This was caused to be engraved on a stone and (the latter) was ordered to be set up.

No. 38—Pudur inscription of the year 836.

This inscription is engraved on a pillar in a *mandapa* at Puduvūr, a hamlet of Tiruvīdāṅḡōdu. It is in the Tamil language and characters.

Text.¹

1	அர உடு-	40	தண-
2	சுளு தை	41	ணீரு-
3	[மீ] செஉ பள-	42	ம தியு-
4	ளச்சை ர	43	ம முட-
5	சசுரன ர-	44	டா-
6	சசுரன செ-	45	மெ-
7	விச்ச அம-	46	ல இ
8	பல-	47	ருந-
9	ததுக-	48	து ந-
10	கு மெ-	49	—ததி
11	ல் ப-	50	வித-
12	டி ய-	51	தது க-
13	ரன்	52	ட[சை*] ம-
14	உடப-	53	யும
15	பிறந்-	54	இறு-
16	தாள	55	தது
17	நாச-	56	யா-
18	சியா	57	விச-
19	ராகு-	58	சு செ-
20	நதம-	59	காள-
21	மை	60	வரா-
22	தா-	61	ரக-
23	னம	62	வும
24	குடு-	63	உடு-
25	தத நி-	64	பபா-
26	லம	65	ன
27	புது-	66	ஆ-
28	வூர	67	ண-
29	குள-	68	டு ஒ-
30	தது கீ-	69	னறு-
31	ள் மு-	70	க்கு [மு]-
32	ருக்க-	71	ண-
33	மை	72	று ப-
34	உ ப-	73	ண
35	யும	74	வு
36	சநத-	75	ம
37	தி பி-	76	ஹ-
38	நவெ-	77	நி[ஹ*]
39	சமெ		

Translation.

To the shed (*ambalam*), built by Ichchuran-Ichchuran of Pallhchchai on the 14th day of the month of Tai in the year 826, Nāchchuyār-Āsundammai the uterine sister of the above person, made a gift of the land called Murukkaraṇ (having the sowing capacity) of 3 *kurunṇi* (of seed) situated to the east the tank at

1 Registered as No 70 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1096 M E.

Puduvūr, so that water and fire (perhaps torches) may be kept up without default and the land enjoyed in succession, paying the usual taxes (She also gave) three *panam* for the clothing required annually Hari !

Inscriptions at Tiruvidaikkōdu.

Tiruvidaikkōdu which is a small hamlet about three miles to the east of Padmanābhapuram contains an old Śiva temple with a shrine of Śāstā also located within the same building. In the south *prākāra* of this temple lies embedded a rough boulder of rock and on it have been engraved the records relating to the temple grant. Two of the earliest of these belonging to the Āy king Kōkkarunandadakkān (A D 855) of the 9th century A. D., and two other Vaṭṭeluttu epigraphs² of about the 10th and 11th centuries have already been published. From them, it is evident that the temple dates from at least the third quarter of the 9th century. Local tradition derives the name of the temple from *tiru*=beautiful or sacred, *vidai*=bull (Nandi), and *lōḍu*=hill top and Tiruvidaikkōḍu may then be considered as synonymous with Vṛishabhādrī; but the real name is Iḍaikkōḍu and occurs as such in the temple's inscriptions³.

The subjoined are the other inscriptions found in the temple, either engraved on the rock referred to above, or on detached stone slabs set up in the temple compound. The *Surru-maṇḍapa* round the central shrine appears to have either been erected or renovated in Kollam 769 and its pillars contain the names of their respective donors.

No. 39—Record of Ravi-Ravivarman of Kollam 548.

No. 5 of the Travancore Epigraphical collection is an important record from the palæographical point of view, as it is specifically dated in Kollam 548 (=A. D. 1373) in the latter half of the 14th century in the reign of the Travancore king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvaḍi of Kīlappērūr. The language of the inscription is Tamil as is natural in the southern corner of the Travancore State, but the script employed marks an intermediate stage between Chōla-Grantha as such, and modern Malayalam which traces its origin from the former.

Malabar tradition ascribes the introduction of the Grantha alphabet for writing Malayalam works to the poet Tuṇjattu Rāmānujan-Eluttachchan,⁴ 'the father of Malayalam literature', who is believed to have flourished in the early part of the 8th century of the Malabar era. But it seems likely that the adaptation may have been made a century or more earlier, and that in the time of this poet the

1 *Trav Archæ. Series*, Vol I, p 14 15

2 *Ibid.*, Vol III, p. 198-200,

3 See page 150 below

4 Burnell's *South Indian Palæography*, p 42.

new script may have undergone some standardisation in form¹ and received more popular acceptance. With the introduction of a greater percentage of Sanskrit words in their unadulterated forms in medieval Malayalam literature as opposed to the earlier compositions which were less saturated with this foreign element, and with the popularisation of the hybrid *manipravāla* style which forms a distinctive feature of the Malayalam language, the older indigenous Vatteluttu script with its limited range of letters was found inadequate for the purpose of writing literary compositions in; and the Nambudiri brahmans who were the sole custodians of learning in Malabar in the earlier days, adopted the Grantha alphabet for their literary purposes. This script, supplemented by a few letters such as *la*, *ra*, *la* foreign to the Aryan language but borrowed from Vatteluttu, has been standardised as the modern cursive Malayalam alphabet, the only change that it has undergone in all these centuries being but a rounding off of its angularities, which differentiates it from modern Grantha and gives it the appearance of an individual script. Palaeographical evidence discloses that Grantha was only sparingly used in early Vatteluttu inscriptions for representing Sanskrit words, and that by about the 14th century, Grantha was adopted in its entirety for purposes of engraving inscriptions and copying manuscripts side by side with Vatteluttu, which still continued to be used.

The present record of the latter half of the 14th century is a noteworthy inscription in this respect. It marks a stage wherein the letters while retaining still their affinity to the Grantha forms have developed certain characteristics which have descended down to modern times in Malayalam. The letters also bear a marked resemblance to the alphabet employed in the Kottayam plates of Vīra-rāghava-chakravartin, and this similarity goes a long way to confirm the assignment of the latter to the 14th century A. D.² Some of the remarks made by Mr. V Venkayya in regard to the peculiarity of the alphabet of that record applies with equal appropriateness to the script of the present epigraph:

(i) the group *ka* is expressed by adding a second horizontal stroke above the middle line forming part of the single letter;

(ii) the rough *ra* is used in several places and the semi-circular loop of *u* is affixed at its bottom as in modern Malayalam,

(iii) the secondary *ā* length is a distinct symbol and the forerunner of the Malayalam in-turned loop *ṣ*, and the secondary *i* and *ī* are represented by curves on the top of the letters;

(iv) *ta* and *na*, while retaining their affinity to the Grantha group, also approximate in their forms to their Malayalam equivalents;

(v) *ṇa*, *ya*, *ṭa*, and *ra* have almost their modern forms in Malayalam;

(vi) *bha* retains its Grantha form and has not degenerated into *ba*; and

(vii) conjunct consonants are written one over the other, as in *seyda*, *mukappaḍi* (l. 19, 5), in combination in a single symbol *ttu* (l. 6) and in juxtaposition in other places *aiññūrru* (l. 1), no uniformity being maintained.

1 Burnell does not credit him with any attempt at systematisation in the orthography of the Aryan script except the introduction of the letters *ra*, *ṭa* and *ṇa* - p. 42.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, p. 292

It may thus be seen that the characters approximate to the modern Malayālam adaptations than to the original Grantha letters from which they were primarily evolved, and that this period of borrowal must therefore be at least a century earlier than the period of this epigraph, (*i. e.*), about the end of the 13th century A. D.

The subject matter of the document does not call for much remark, the record but registering a gift of land for feeding twelve brahmins in the Tiruviḍaikkōḍu temple during the Viśākham annual festival. The king during whose reign the inscription was engraved was Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvadi of Kilappērūr who was ruling over Vēnādu. From the temple records as extracted in the *State Manual*,¹ we learn that a king called Vīra Mārttāndavarman ruled over Vēnādu till about 550 M. E., who made several expiatory donations to the temple of Padmanābhasvāmin at Trivandrum; but epigraphical records have till now given him a reign up to Kollam 541 only. As Āḍityavarman Sarvāṅganātha of the Trivandrum Kṛṣṇanarkōyil epigraph² is known to have been ruling in the Śaka year 1230 expressed by the chronogram '*chōlapriya*', corresponding to Kollam 549-50, we have to consider that the Vēnādu king Ravi-Ravivarman Tiruvadi of the present record was his predecessor. It cannot be definitely stated when Mārttānda ceased to rule and in what year Ravi-Ravivarman commenced his reign or whether both of them were joint-rulers of Vēnādu before Kollam 550.

Śrīvallabha-maṅgalam; is mentioned in a Chōla-Pāṇḍya record of Chōla-puram as a *brahmadēya* of Nāttāru-pōkku in Uttamaśōla-valanāḍu. Manattittai is a hamlet near Bhūtappāṇḍi.

Text.

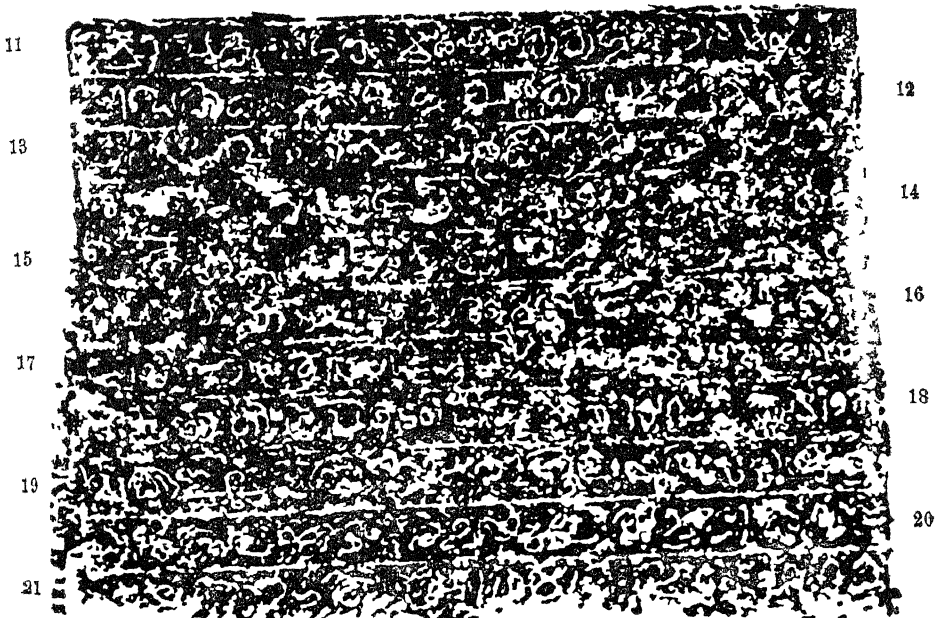
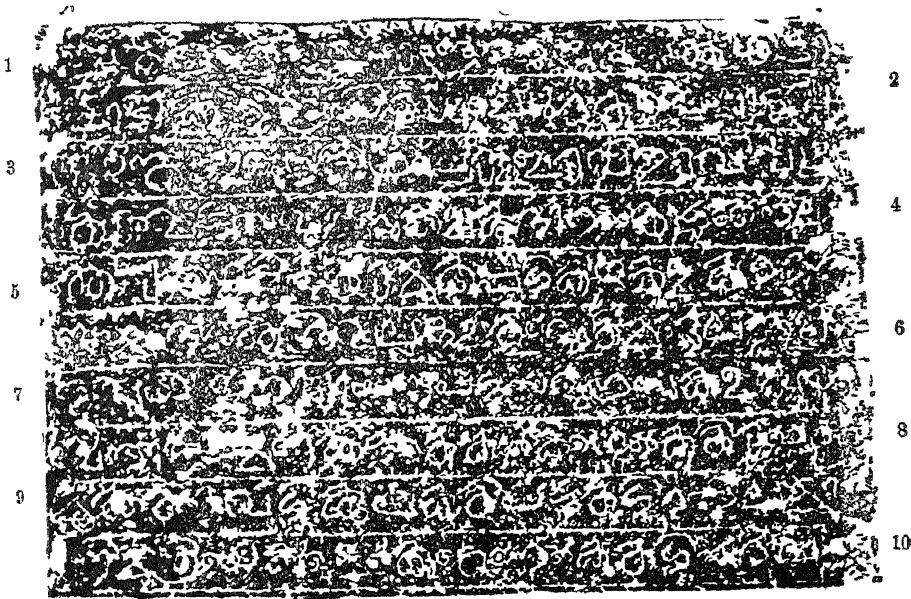
- 1 സ്വസ്തി ശ്രീ. [1] കൊല്ലം അത്തുര നാൽപ്പത്തു എട്ടു
- 2 മാണ്ട കുന്നിത്തറയിറ യ ചെൻറതു വെണാടു വ-
- 3 മഴത്തളിൻറ കീഴപ്പൊതു [2] ഇരവി ഇരവിവമ്മ
- 4 ത്തിരുവടി സർവ്വനൂകവത്തുടാനം കൊടുത്ത നില-
- 5 ത്തിന്നു എഴുതിന തിരുമുക്കുട്ടി [3] കീഴ്കുളക്കുററത്തു
- 6 ബ്രഹ്മദൈവത്തു ശ്രീവല്ലഭചതുവെന്തിമുണ്ടലത്തു ക-
- 7 ഭവ യജ്ഞനാരായണപ്പട്ട സർവ്വനൂകവത്തു നാ-
- 8 മിനാട്ടിൽ മണത്തിട്ട തെക്കുറു കീഴെൽക തിരുപ്പാപ്പു
- 9 മൂത്ത തിരുവടിക്ക പകുതിപട്ട തടി മ നില മാങ്ക-
- 10 ന്നി മുന്തിയെക്ക മെൽക്ക തെന്നെൽക തടി മ നിലം [അ]-
- 11 മായുക്ക വടക്ക മെൽക്കുൽക തടി മ നിലം അര-
- 12 മെവുക്ക കീഴക്ക വടവെൽക വായ്ക്കൽക്ക
- 13 തെക്ക ഇവെൽക നടുവിൽ കിടത്ത കെ

1 *State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 265.

2 *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol I, p. 171.

3 Registered as No. 5 of the Trav. Epig. Collec. for 1084 M. E. and No. 47 of 1098 M. E.

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- 14 . . . നിലം ഒരുമാ . . . തെ
 15 ഉതകവുവു തമ്മത്താനാക ആചരതാ-
 16 രവൽ തന്തതിപ്രദേശമെ അതികരിച്ചുകൊ-
 17 ണ്ടു കന്നിത്തായിര വിശാകം ആട്ടെത്തിരു
 18 നാട്ടുകു തിരുവിടെക്കൊട്ടു മുക്കാൽവട്ടത്തു മാത-
 19 വക്കു ഇല്ലുവിന്നാൽ ന് നാഴി ചെയ്ക്ക അരിയും ഒ-
 20 കാട്ടത്തു പന്തിരണ്ടു ചെയർ പിരാമ്മണക്കു അമ-
 21 തൈക്കു നടത്തിപ്പൊകമാറു ഇല്ലെ ആക

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 10th day of the month of Kanni in (the) Kollam (year) five-hundred and forty-eight, the land which was given as *sarvagrastaka-vastu-dānam* (an absolute gift) according to the royal order of Iravi-Iravivarman Tiruvadī of Kīlappērūr, who was ruling over Vēnādu to Yajñanārāyana-Bhatta of Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimangalam, a *brahmadēya* of Kīlkalakūrnam is to the south of Maṇaltuttai in Nāñjinādu and its boundaries are the following:—

the eastern boundary is to the west of the *mākāni + mundirikai* of land comprised in two *tadī* belonging to Mūtta-tiruvadī of Tiruppāppūr;

the southern boundary is to the north of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of land comprised in one *tādī*;

the western boundary is to the east of the $\frac{1}{2}$ *mā* of land comprised in one *tādī*;

the northern boundary is to the south of the channel;

The land lying between these boundaries which is one *mā* was bestowed as a charitable gift, preceded by a libation of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon and stars (exist) and in lineal succession, and (with the stipulation) that on the *visākha*-day in the Kanni month every year, offerings with 9 *nālī* of good rice by the home-measure should be made to the god Mahādēva of the Tiruvidaikkōdu temple and that twelve brahmans should be fed therefrom.

No. 40.— Another Inscription at Tiruvidaikkodu.

This record which can be attributed to about the beginning of the 12th century from its writing, is however so badly damaged at its end that nothing could be made of the last two or three lines; but from the legible portion it is seen that it registers a gift of some money by Karpaka-ṣetti for feeding twelve brahmans

1 Engraved below the line

2 The writing stops here.

on new-moon days. It may be noted that Ālūr was called Vikramachōla-Pāndyapuram, presumably after either of the two Chōla-Pāndya viceroys Māravarman Vikramasōla-Pāndya or Jātavarman Vikramasōla-Pāndya, and as the alphabet of the record is sufficiently early, it has to be attributed to the time of the former, who was the earlier of the two and who was the second of the viceroys sent out to administer the southern dominions of the Chōla king Rājendrachōla-deva.

Text ¹

- 1 ஸ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ || ஆளுரா-
- 2 ன விகிரமசோழபாண்டி-
- 3 யபுரத்து உடைபான பா[ப்ப]னா
- 4 கற்பக செட்டி காரிசாததனுக்கு ப
- 5 ன்குடுத்து அமாவாதி நாள்
- 6 பன்னிருவா பிராமணரை
- 7 அமுதுசெய்விப்பது அது
- 8 க்கு வெண்டுங் காய்ச்சா-
- 9 க்கும கறி[யு¹]ம அட்டி- ஸ்ரி.
- 10 . க . கற்பக
- 11 உப்பு நாழி பால நாழி . கு .
- 12 வா செய-
- 13செய்த ||

No. 41—Another Tamil Record at Tiruvidaikku.

This Tamil inscription is also engraved in Tamil characters on the same rock embedded in the south *prākāra* of the Śiva temple at Tiruvidaikku. It records the gift of some lands by Ūdaiyan-Ponnāndi and Ūdaiyānangala-naṅgai of Marudattūr, a village in Kuru-nādu for certain offerings to the god and for feeding seven brahmans in the temple during the *dvādaśi* days of the first fortnight.

The same penalties for default as are found in other records of this type are specified here also, *viz.*, that for every occasion of default, double the quantity at default was to be levied, for two occasions the levy of an additional fine in money was also fixed, and for three (consecutive) occasions, the *śrīr* of Marudattūr and the temple servants were empowered to cancel the previous agreements and conduct the charity themselves. The terms *onru*, *yrandu* and *mūṇru* have to be taken to refer to the number of occasions of default as in other records, rather than to the number of items of the *menu* that were stopped. The tax on these lands was ordered to be met by the persons supervising their cultivation.

Kaḍigaipattinam was also comprised in Kuru-nādu.

Text. ²

- 1 ஸ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [1*] துலாத்தில வி[யாழன்] நின்ற மெடஞாயி-
- 2 ந்து குறுநாட்டு மருத்தநா உதைய-

1 Registered as No. 11 of the Trav Epig Colln. for 1084 M E and 48 of 1098 M. E

2 Registered as No 9 of the Trav Epig Colln 1084 M E and 49 of 1098 M. E

- 3 ன் பொன்னாடிபும உதையன மங்-
 4 கலநகையும திருவிடைகெ-
 5 நாட்டு திருகொயிறகல வுலவ-
 6 வண்தது ஸ்ரீபதி ஊட்டுவான க-
 7 தபயிச்சது [1¹] அகத்து திருவமிது-
 8 ககு அரி எண்ணழியும ஸ்ரீபதி-
 9 ரெழுமறகு கறபிச்ச அரி பதிநா-
 10 ழியம ருதினன வெஞ்சனம பயற
 11 நாடி பரிச்ச கறியுப [உ]லையும ந-
 12 நெய் புறகரு மிளகு அரையுழககு
 13 தெய்வாய ஒன்று மொர முநநா-
 14 ழிபரி இதினன வெணடும் உபபு-
 15 ம புளியும விறகும் இலையும -
 16 வற்றிலை யொரடுககும் அடைக்கா-
 17 ய் எழுமா கூடி ஸ்ரீபதிநாளில ஊ-
 18 டநிலவான கறபிச்ச புயி [1¹] தொட்டி-
 19 காட்டு வெலி மாங்கொட்டு ஞாவ
 20 தகற்றுடவல் நிலம் குறுந் ஐஞ-
 21 ஞாழியும இக்கொடு முடொக்கில
 22 கூடிய நில மிருகுறுணியும க-
 23 டி நிலம் முககுறுண் அஞ்ஞாழியு-
 24 ம குடிமார குழிததுடவல் நிலம்
 25 இந்ருகுறுணியும பிலாவழறை நில-
 26 ம நாற்குறுணியும கூடி நிலம் அறு-
 27 குறுணியும கூடி ஆக நிலம் ஒன்பதி-
 28 னகுறுணி அஞ்ஞாழியும அதிகரி-
 29 க்கு மாரகவ ருமமாரககெ-
 30 மய செலுத்தியருவது [1¹] இ-
 31 தில் ஒன்று முடடுக்கில முட்டி-
 32 டடி [1¹] யிரண்டு முடடுக்கில முட்டி-
 33 டியுந் தெண்டமு [1¹] மூன்று முடடுக்கில மந்-
 34 த்ததுரா ஊராருந் தெவகன மிகளுஞ்
 35 செலுத்திவிச்சுகொளவது [1¹] தொ-
 36 டிகொட்டு முடொக்கில கூடிய
 37 நிலத்தினனு வரும யிறை வரி நில-
 38 ந தளமுறியிலு மதின தாழத்தை வ
 39 ட்டத்திலும் [பிராய] கறறுடவலிலுந்
 40 குடி எறறி அநநிலமதிகரிக்குமவா [கடமயி]-
 41 றுத்து வருவது [1¹] குழிததுடவலிலும பில-
 42 ரவழறையிலும ஒளள யிறை வரி நி-
 43 லங் குடிமார குழிததுடவல் நிலத்தி[தி]ல் கு-
 44 டி எறறி அநநிலமதிகரிக்குமவா கடமயி-
 45 றுத்து வருவது
 46 இமமாற்கமெ அஞ்ஞாழிதீவற செலவிது¹ [11^{*}]

1 This line is engraved below the section ending with line 22, owing to want of space

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the Mēdam month when Jupiter stood in Tulām, the following was provided by Udayān-Ponnāndi and Udayān maṅgalattu Naṅgai of Marudattūr in Kuru-nādu, for the feeding (charity) during the *dvādaśi* (day-) of the first fortnight, in the temple at Tiruviḍaikkōdu —

for the sacred offerings in the central shrine, 8 *nāli* of rice,

for seven brahmins, 14 *nāli* of rice,

for condiments for the latter, green pulse one *nāli*, fried curry, *ulai*, fragrant ghee one *ulaku*, pepper half *ulaku* each, coconut one, butter-milk three *nāli* and one *iri*,

and again for the latter, the required quantities of salt, tamarind, firewood, leaves, on *aḍukku* of betel and seven aracanuts,

for all (the above-mentioned), for feeding on *dvādaśi* days the following lands were provided —

Jñāvaṅkarrudaval field of (the sowing capacity of) one *kuruni* and five *nāli* in Vēlmāṅgōdu near Tottikkōdu, together with two *kuruni* of land in Mudōkku, i.e., land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuruni* and five *nāli*,

land in Kudimār-ttudaval (having the sowing capacity) of two *kuruni*; land in Pilāvalarai (having the sowing capacity) of four *kuruni*; i.e., land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kuruni*,

—in all, land (having the sowing capacity) of nine *kuruni* and five *nāli*.

Those who supervise these (lands) shall conduct (the charity) in this manner. If it should fail for one occasion, double the default shall be paid; if for two, double the default and a fine shall be paid; if for three the *ārār* of Marudattūr and the temple servants shall conduct (the charity) themselves.

Those who supervise the lands shall bring in ryots to the plots called Tālamuri and those lying below it and ¹Jñāvarrudaval, and thus pay the tax collectable from the lands included in Mādōkku in Tottikkōdu. Those who supervise the lands in Kudimārkuli-ttudaval shall bring in ryots to them and bear the taxes collectable from the fields Kuḷittudaval and Pilāvalarai.

No. 42.— A Record dated in Kollam 835.

The subjoined record is engraved in Tamil characters on the four faces of a stone pillar set up in the temple compound. It is dated in Kollam 835, and relates to a gift of land made by Perumāl-Tānuvaṅ for the maintenance of a water-shed on the bank of the Nāchchiyārkuḷam and has nothing to do with the Tiruviḍaikkōdu temple. It appears to have been fixed up within this temple at a later date. The caretaker in charge of the wayside choultry had, in return for the lands which were given over to him for enjoyment, to supply water, pickles, salt, firewood etc. to the wayfarers. Another record of a similar nature has been published *ante*

1 Pirāykkarrudaval may be Jñāvāṅkarrudaval

The donor who is stated to have belonged to the caste (?) called *dēvaputras* of the Kalkulam temple (*Nayinār Kalkulattu-mādevār kōyilil dēvaputraiḥ kanak-ku*) was perhaps a *dēvadāsa*, a temple man servant, as opposed to his counterpart of the other gender, *dēvadāsi*. On account of hereditary temple service, the members perhaps developed into a separate sub-caste among themselves, as in the case of *ambalanāsis*, *vāriyārs* etc. It may be noted that *dēva* was also an honorific title used by the *aṇumbadi* body-guards of palaces, but these latter were presumably different from the *dēvaputras* of the present record

Text.¹

First face

- 1 ஹரி: ஊனமு [1*]
- 2 கிருநீல நன்ன -
- 3 சுவாமியு அ -
- 4 மல ம அனந்த வ -
- 5 ல்லி அமகமயும
- 6 இலட்சசூக [1*] ம -
- 7 காலலப அநந -
- 8 னுரு ஆவணியீ ம உருரு
- 9 நயினா கல்க்குளத்து மாடு -
- 10 தவா டொவிலில தெய்வ -
- 11 புத்திரரில் கணக்கு மெருமாள்
- 12 தானுவன நாசகிடார்க்கு -
- 13 ளகதின கரையில் அமபல -
- 14 ம நீர் [வ*] றவியும பெண் தியும(ந)
- 15 தண்ணீரும சுண்ணாம்பும
- 16 மாநதலையும நடடு ஆககி -
- 17 ச செய்கிற பெருக்குக்கு சந -
- 18 திராதிதவரைகரும விட் -
- 19 டு குறித்த நிலமாவது [1*] நாஞ்சி -

Second side

- 20 டுடடில் எறிச்சிக்கு -
- 21 ளத்தில அயயக்குடடி -
- 22 மாடன ஓடு சொரா டெ -
- 23 வாற்றி க்காண்ட நில -
- 24 ததுக்கு எல்கை -
- 25 யாவது [1*] மெப்பபடி
- 26 ஊரில் பெயச்சா -
- 27 ண் குளத்தின கிள் ந -

- 28 டுவிட மடைப்பெ பா -
- 29 கருத்தி ஒன்று நிலம
- 30 அரமாய்க்கு எலலை -
- 31 சயாவது கீழ் எலலை -
- 32 க மணவீக்கரை
- 33 கண்டு உழவு நில -
- 34 ததுக்கம மெக்குத
- 35 தென்னெலகை
- 36 சந்திரப்பாலன
- 37 நிலத்துக்கு வட -
- 38 (சு) மெலலெல -
- 39 க மணவீக்கரை
- 40 கண்டு உழவு நில -
- 41 ததுக்கும கிளக்கு வட -
- 42 எல்கை மெப்பபடி
- 43 வகை நிலத்துக்கும

Third face

- 44 தெற்கு ஆக இவ்விசொந்த பெ -
- 45 ருநானெலகைக்கு உடைப்பட்ட
- 46 தடி ஒன்று நிலம் அரமாயும மெ -
- 47 லப்படி ஊநில [நா]றக்குள -
- 48 ததிரு மிழவடக்கு மடை -
- 49 பபொக்கு தடி ஒன்று நில -
- 50 ம காணியரைக்காணி -
- 51 க்கு எலகையாவது கிழ -
- 52 எலகை தரழைப்பெரு -
- 53 மாள நிலத்துக்கம மெ -
- 54 க்குத தென்னெலகை
- 55 அயயப்பன பெருமாள்
- 56 மடத்துக்கு விட்டுக் குடு -

- 57 தத நிலததுககும் வடக்கு
 58 மெலளல வக எதித-
 59 த(ர)பாதம் பிள்ளை நில-
 60 ததுககும் சிழககு வடஎல்-
 61 கை ஆண்டார நிலதது-
 62 ககும் தெக்கு ஆக இவ்சொந-
 63 த பெருநானகு எல்கை-
 64 க்கு உளபபட்ட தடி
 65 ஒன்று நிலம் கரணி அ-
 66 ரைக்காணியும் ஆக
 67 தடி யிரண்டினுல நில-
 68 ம முககாணி அரை-

Fourth face

- 69 ககாணிககு உண-
 70 டான இறைககுநட
 71 பொக்கி செழும்
 72 ஒள்ள மிசசவர-
 73 ம இந்த அம்பல கதி-

- 74 லெ யிருநது சீயும்
 75 தண்ணீரும் சு-
 76 ண்ணும்பும் உப்-
 77 பு ஊறுகாயும்
 78 குடுதது வினைசூற
 79 ஆராய்நது நடுத-
 80 ல் நட்டு இருக்கிற ம-
 81 பாகள அடுதது பா-
 82 விசச கொளளுவ-
 83 ராகவும் இப்படி
 84 யாவிச்சு பொருடு-
 85 மடதது இந்த நில-
 86 ததுககும் இந்த தன
 87 மமாததுககும் அகு-
 88 தம் செய்கிற பொ-
 89 கள கெய்கைக-
 90 ரையில காராம்ப-
 91 சவை கொன்ற ம-
 92 தாழ்த்த பொவார ஆ-
 93 கவும் [11⁶]

Translation.

Har! Be it well: May god Tirunīlākunṭha and goddess Ānan lavall protect (us)

On the 25th day of Āvaṇi in the Kollam year 835, Perumal-Tānuvaṇ of the community of Daivaputra, an accountant of the temple of Mahādeva at Kalkulam erected a rest-house, dug a drinking well on the bund of the tank (called) Nāchchiyārkuḷam, and (also) gave as long as the moon and sun endure, the following land for (the supply of) fuel, water and chumam and for (the maintenance of) him who plants and rears mango plants.

The boundaries of the land which was taken on a perpetual lease from Ayyakkutti-Mādan in Erichchikuḷam in Nāṇṇi-nāḍu and the boundaries of the *tadī* of land, half *mā* in extent, lying along the course of the central channel of the Pēychchaṅguḷam in the same village are.— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the crown lands in Manalikkara; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land belonging to Chandirappālan; the western boundary (is) to the east of the crown lands in Manalikkara; and the northern boundary (is) to the south of the same land:— i. e., the *tadī* of land between these four great boundaries is half *mā* in extent.

In the same village, the boundaries of the *tadī* of land, one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying in the course of the northern sluice of the tank called [Nāra] kkuḷam are:— the eastern boundary (is) to the west of the land belonging to Tālaipparumāl; the southern boundary (is) to the north of the land assigned to the *matha* of Ayyappaṇ-Perumāl; the western boundary (is) to the east of the land belonging to Eḍuttapādam-Pillai; the northern boundary (is) to the south of

the land belonging to Āṇḍār i. e., the *tadh* of land one and a half *kāṇi* in extent lying between these four great boundaries,—

in all, two *tadh* of land, three and a half *kāṇi* in extent.

The balance of produce (*vāṇam*) remaining after (payment of) taxes on these lands was to be enjoyed by those who reside in this rest-house, supply fuel, water, chunam, salt and pickles (to wayfarers), supervise the general conduct (of the charity) and attend to the planting (of trees).

When this is being thus enjoyed, those who do evil to this land and to this charity, shall incur the sin of having killed a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges

No. 43— A record dated in Saka 1649.

This is another record relating to the feeding of fifty-four brahmans during *dvādaśi* in the temple of Kōḍambīśvaramudaiya-Naymār at Tiruvīdaikkōḍu, for which some lands were given by Perumāṇ-Kandan, the accountant (*kaṇakku*) of Manavālakkurichchi in Kadaigupattanam, a village of Kuru-nādu which was a sub-division of Rājarāja-Tennādu.

Rājarāja-Tennādu was the name of the southern portion of the Pāndya kingdom, which Rājarāja had conquered and had rechristened in his own name. From the fact that Kōḍambīśvaram was situated in Kuru-nādu, this sub-division can be located in the modern Eraniel taluk. It may be noted that *kurichchi* and *pattinam* at the ends of place-names are significant of their topographical positions, *kurichchi*, being the name of the hamlets of *kuriṇjinila-mākkal* or hill tribes and *pattinam* that of the villages on the sea-coast in *neydal-nilam*, (e. g., Nāga-pattinam, Kulasekharapattinam)¹.

Text.²

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 [சகா]ததம் கதநா- | 16 ட்டததில இருநது இரா- |
| 2 சய்க செல்லாநின்ற | 17 சராச தென்னாட்டுக் கு- |
| 3 மெட வியாழம் தின- | 18 றநாட்டு கழிகைபட்ட- |
| 4 ற கொல்லம் கூடன | 19 னம் மணவாளகுறி- |
| 5 பிலவங்கவருமம் | 20 சசியில கணக்குப் பெருமான் க- |
| 6 மெடமாதம் உயக ம- | 21 ண்டன் துவாதெசி ண- |
| 7 சன்ற புத்தன-சை- | 22 டடுக்கு தானப்பிறமா- |
| 8 பு மகவும பூர[வ*]பகஷ- | 23 ணமரக விட்ட நிலமமா- |
| 9 தது தெச்சியும் கர[ச*]கர- | 24 விது [1*] திருவிடைகடு- |
| 10 ணமும் வைறுததி நித்தி- | 25 காட்டு செய்கொல- |
| 11 யபொகவும பெ[ற்*]ற- | 26 கருளத்தின கிழும் வெ- |
| 12 ந நாஸால் திருவிடை- | |
| 13 கொட்டு கொட்டி- | |
| 14 இச்சுரமுடைய நயி- | |
| 15 னா திருமுக்கால வ- | |

Second face.

- | |
|-----------------|
| 27 பபறைக்குள- |
| 28 ததின் கிழும் |
| 29 நீருண்டு நெல |

1 குறிச்சி கிறமரே சேமா குறிஞ்சினனிலத்தூரப்பேராம
பறித்திடு முகலையுரே பாடி பட்டினமே நெய்தல — *Chadāmana*
2 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1084 M. E.
3 The English equivalent is A. D. 1727, April 19, 81, 32.

- 30 வினோயும த-
 31 டடானதுட-
 32 வல்லும வெ-
 33 பபறையும தடி.
 34 உ வ¹ அபபும உ-
 35 ளற்றிக் குளத்தி-
 36 ன் கிழ ஊற்று
 37 உளளிட்டு தடி.
 38 க வ களபும²
 39 இடைக்கெ-
 40 ரட்டு பற்றில்
 41 இடைக்கெ-
 42 ரட்டு குளத்-
 43 தின கிழ ம-
 44 திலடி
 45 க வ³ நு⁴பும க-
 46 னினாட்டு-
 47 பற்றில் புந-
 48 கறைக்குள -
 49 ததின் கிழு[ம*]
 50 ஷை தனிகு-
 51 முக்கிழும வெ-
 52 சல்லனகுள-
Third face.
 53 த்தின கிழும நிரு-
 54 ண்டுநெல் வினையும
 55 நெடுங்கண தடி.
 56 க வ சுப⁴பும ஷை புரவி-
 57 ல் நடுவுக்கெட்டு
 58 தடி. க வ⁵தபும ஆக தடி
 59 னினால் வ⁶ உளளப-
 60 பும துவாதெசி ஊ-
 61 ட்டுக்கு சடையப்பா
 62 கொவில ஊ-
 63 ட்டுபுரை மெக்கெ-
 64 க நடையில் கல்லு
 65 வெடடி நாட்டுகையி-
 66 ல் இநத வ உளளபும⁶
 67 பிரமததுவமரக தி-
 68 ருவிடைக்கொட்டும்

- 69 கனினாங்கொடு
 70 கிராமததார் வசம கை-
 71 ய்யாளிககெயில் சி-
 72 பண்டாராகும் யடி
 73 கடமையும இறுத்து
 74 [து*]வாதெசி தொறும னு-
 75 யிச ப்ராமணாகரு
 76 ஊட்டுபுரையில்
 77 வைசக ஊட்டு ந-
 78 டத்தி பெருமான் கண்டன்
Fourth face
 79 தறவாட்டில்
 80 துவாதெசி-
 81 தொறும சவ
 82 அரிசி சொறும
 83 கொடுத்தது தம-
 84 மம்பத்தா டெ[க]-
 85 ள்ப்பிசசு
 86 ஆசெந்திர-
 87 வற் ஊட்டு
 88 நடத்திக்கொள -
 89 வாராகவும[1*] இந-
 90 த தற்ம்மதந
 91 நடத்திவருகி-
 92 நவன் கெந-
 93 கைக்கரையி-
 94 ல காராமபசு
 95 தானம் செ-
 96 ய்த பலதன-
 97 த யடைவாரா -
 98 கவும[1*] இதநற்-
 99 மம முடககின
 100 பொகள் கெ-
 101 ன்[கை] கரையில்
 102 காராமபசு-
 103 வக் கொன்ற தொ-
 104 ழும் அடையவும[1*]
 105 இந்த கலலு
 106 7

1 தடி உ நிலம எண்குறுணியும்.

2 நிலம ஒரு கலனும்.

3 நிலம முககுறுணியும்

4 நிலம அறுகுறுணியும்.

5 நிலம தூணியும்.

6 நிலம இருகலனே எழுகுறுணியும்.

7 The last line may have contained the word 'காட்டியது'.

Translation.

In the Saka year 1649 when Jupiter stood in Mēdam, corresponding to (the) Kollam (year) 902 and the (cyclic) year Plavaṅga, on the 21st (day) of the month of Mēdam, (which was) a Wednesday, and the tenth *tithi* in the first fortnight with nakshatra Makha, *kara(śa)karanam* and this day, the lands which Perumān-Kandan, the accountant (a hamlet of Kadikupattanam in Kuru nādu, (a sub-division) of Rājarāja-Tennādu, gave as charity while present in the temple (*tirumukkālvattam*) of (the god) Kōdam-biśvaramudaiya-nayimār of Tiruvadaikkōdu, for the purpose of feeding on *dvādaśi* days, are the following —

two *tadi* of land (called) Tattān-tudaval and Vēpparai (having the sowing capacity) of 8 *kuruni*, which are irrigable by the Śeykāl and Vēpparai tanks for growing paddy;

one *tadi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam* under the tank called Ūrikkulam, inclusive of the spring,

one *tadi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of three *kuruni* under the Idaikkōdu tank in Idaikkōttu-parru,

one *tadi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of six *kuruni* irrigable for growing paddy from tanks called Puṅgarakkulam, Tanikkulam, and Sellankulam in Kanijñāttu-parru;

in the same division, one *tadi* of land in Naduvukkōdu (having the sowing capacity) one *tuni*

—in all, from these five *tadi* land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kuruni* (was given) for the feeding (of brahmins) during *dvādaśi* (days) and (this gift) was engraved on a stone which was fixed up at the western entrance of the feeding-house of the temple of Śaḍaiyappar

This land (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and seven *kuruni* was left as *brahmasāmi* under the supervision of the villagers of Tiruvadaikkōdu and Kanijñāṅōdu (with the stipulation) that the taxes were to be paid to the temple-treasurers, that fifty-four brahmins should be fed during each *dvādaśi* in the feeding-house, that cooked food of four *nāli* of rice should be given during each *dvādaśi* to the *tenavad* of Perumān-Kandan and that the feeding should be conducted as long as the moon exists, under the supervision of the *dharma-karttās*.

Those that conduct this charity shall obtain the merit of presenting a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges, and those that obstruct it shall obtain the sin of killing a tawny cow there.

This stone

No. 44— Inscriptions on pillars in the same temple.

The following inscriptions are labels found on the pillars supporting the circumambulatory passage round the shrine in the Tiruvadaikkodu temple and record the names of their respective donors. They are not important in themselves, but as it is advisable to bring together all the records relating to the temple in one

place, these are also printed below. One point only is noticeable that all the labels evidently belong to the same year as that mentioned in a few viz: Kollam 769 Arpasi, 12, when the *śurr-mandapa* appears to have been re-constructed.

A

- 1 பாரைச்சாலை
- 2 தெசத்தது கண்-
- 3 கரு நாகன் ஆ-
- 4 நிசசன் பத்தி
- 5 ஒன்றுக்கு கொடு-
- 6 த்த ராஉய

B

- 1 பள்ளத்து
- 2 பள்ளச்சை
- 3 முமபய்யன்
- 4 கண்ணன்
- 5 பத்திகக்கு
- 6 ட [ராஉய]

C

- 1 கழைக்கட்ட-
- 2 ம தெசத்தது
- 3 கணக்கு இரா-
- 4 மன் தெவன்
- 5 செய்வித்த பத்-
- 6 தி க கரு ர [ராஉய]

D

- 1 பாத்திசெகர-
- 2 மகநலம தெ-
- 3 சத்தில் ஒற்றவி-
- 4 ளாகத்து விட்டில்
- 5 செகிவிச்ச ப-
- 6 த்தி க

E

- 1 குட்டமவக-
- 2 லந் தெசத்தது
- 3 கணக்குப் பெரு-
- 4 மனை தர்மன்
- 5 கிட்டணன் செ-
- 6 ய்வித்தது கு-
- 7 தெத்த பத்திக

F

- 1 மருதத்தூர
- 2 தெசத்தது க-
- 3 ணக்கு இசக்-
- 4 வரன் அய்யப்ப-
- 5 ன் செய்விச்ச
- 6 பத்தி கக்கு ர [ராஉய]

G

- 1 திருவிடை-
- 2 ககொட்டு
- 3 தெவர் புத்-
- 4 திரில புது-
- 5 ஜா சடை-
- 6 யன் சங-
- 7 கரன் தூண்

H

- 1 குழிககாட்டு சா-
- 2 த்தன் அரங்கன்
- 3 செய்விச்ச பத்தி
- 4 ஒன்று

I

- 1 பள்ளத்து
- 2 சிறபள்ளி மருதன்
- 3 நாகன் செ-
- 4 நிவிச்ச பத்தி
- 5 க கரு ர . .

J

- 1 நடுவில் விளரட்-
- 2 மொரயில் நலத-
- 3 தான பெருபரன்
- 4 செய்விச்ச
- 5 பத்தி க

K

- 1 ளாகய்கு ஒரு அற்பசி
- 2 மாதம் யெ மாச்சி-
- 3 கொட்டு முடவம்-
- 4 புமதது பெரிய தி-
- 5 ருவடி நயினர்
- 6 திருவணநதாழ்வான்
- 7 செய்வித்த பத்தி-
- 8 ஒன்றுக்கு குடு-
- 9 த்த ராஉய

L

- 1 ளாகய்கு ஒரு
- 2 அற்பசி மாத-
- 3 ம் யெ திருக்கா
- 4 . ண்டபத்தம் .
- 5 யில தெக்கெ ந-
- 6 டையும் வடக்-
- 7 கெ நடையும

8 குற்ற
9 . வீததவ
10

M

1 ஷீஷி ஸ்ரீ [1*] மருத்ததார தெவன

2 கொளன் எழுந்தருளீவிச்ச
3 திருப்பூப்பலகை

N

1 கல்லாற பொதிககு சடயப்பா
துணை

No. 45— Kalliyangadu inscription of Kollam 864.

This record, which is engraved in Tamil on the four sides of a pillar set up in the Bhagavatī temple at Kalliyangadu in the Eramel taluk, registers the gift of some lands made by a certain Chidambaram-Ilayanayinār for offerings and worship to the god Vināyaka set up by him in the *matha* of the village and named Chidambaram-Vināyaka-p-pillayār, after himself. The inscription contains elaborate details of the lands given and of the scales of expenditure to be met in the proper conduct of the charity. The English date is A. D 1688, November 10, '83; f.d.n. 14

Text ¹

- 1 மகரத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கொ-
- 2 லலம் அரகயிசு வுந் காததிகை
- 3 ரீர் மகல சனியாட்சையம்
- 4 சொதியும் அமரபகம்முதது
- 5 திறியொதெசியும் சவுபாககி-
- 6 யயொகமும ஆனைக்கரணமும
- 7 பெற்ற இன்னுழால் எழுதின உத-
- 8 கபூறுவ தன்ம[த]ான பட்டைய-
- 9 மாவது [1*] தெனனாடுக்குறு நா-
- 10 ட்டு விரநாராயணசெரிக கி[ழ]பால்
- 11 களனியங்காட்டில சிதப்பரம்
- 12 இளையநயினானென தெ யூரில் மட-
- 13 ததில் சிதம்பர வினாயகப்பிள்ளை-
- 14 யார்க்கு உத்கபூறுவ தன்மதான-
- 15 ப பட்டையம் எழுதிக குடுத்த நில-
- 16 மாவது [1*] தெ யூரில் அஞ்சனவன
- 17 குளத்தாலும் ஆலடி தசனிககுழி-
- 18 யாலும் நிருண்டு நெல் விளையும்
- 19 முடங்கன தடி கல உதந்ப²ம் துலுக-
- 20 ககன் வயல் தடி கல உதந³ம் கிழந-
- 21 டிவுத்தடி தடி கல தக⁴ சே⁵ ம கிழ-
- 22 ககரையடியும் தொழுவடி
- 23 நம் ஆக தடி சே⁶ தந்ப⁷ம் கொல்ல-

1 Registered as No. 14 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1084 M E.

2 இருதுணி முககுறுணி.

3 இருதுணிப்பதக்கு.

4 துணி குறுணி நாகாழி

5 துணி முககுறுணி.

- 24 குளத்தின் கீழ் மெட்டிமடைப்பெ-
 25 ராகில தண்டான்பறம்பு தடி கவ¹ க-
 26 ள உதம நெடுங்குழி ஆலங்குழி-
 27 யால நிருண்டு நெல் விளையும
 28 ஆயத்துறை வயல் தடி உஉஉ ள²ம
 29 காஞ்சிரங்குழியில் கிழகரை-

Second face.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 30 யடி தடி கவ ட்களத்- | 31 பம் ஆக தடி பல- |
| 32 தினல் உ ¹ அளப | 33 ம நெடுங்குழி |
| 34 ஆலங்குழியில் | 35 தனக்குழி இர- |
| 36 ண்டெம் அஞ்ச- | 37 னவன்குளத்தி- |
| 38 ல் தனக்குழி ஒன- | 39 றும ஆலடித்- |
| 40 தனக்குழியில் | 41 நினறு அஞ்சன- |
| 42 வன்கொணம் | 43 உளளிட்ட பி- |
| 44 ள்ளையரா நில- | 45 ததுக்கும தன- |
| 46 மபத்தா நில- | 47 ததுக்கும பொ- |
| 48 க்கி உளள தண- | 49 ணீர் பிளளையா- |
| 50 ராகு ஒருகூறும | 51 தனமபத்தாவு- |
| 52 க்கு இருகூறுமா- | 53 க நடப்பிச்ச- |
| 54 க கொள்ளவும | 55 காஞ்சினுட்டு |
| 56 அழகியபரண | 57 டியபுரத்து பெ- |
| 58 ரியகுளத்தினை- | |

Third face

- 59 (ந்)கிளகமாய மெல்ககால்ப-
 60 பெராகு பெய்கொட்டு பத்தில்
 61 பிள்ளையா பெர் மட ஒத்தியும
 62 செரார ஒத்தியும கெண்டநிலம்
 63 முதல தடிதடி கவ உளஉத | உ தடிதடி
 64 உஉ ளை கூ || ந தடிதடி கவ ள ருந் ள
 65 ச தடிதடி கவ உத—|| ரு தடிதடி உந கவ ள-
 66 செ தடிதடி கவ . உந செ தடிதடி கவ சு-
 67 ருந் ள ஆக தடி பலதினால் உ உ ப ஏக-
 68 ||| க்கும ஆக உளள நிலங்களுக்கு
 69 எல்லா இறைகளும் இறுத்து இயாள்-
 70 சச பெ துவாராகவும [1^{*}] இப்படி
 71 இரத உதக்கூறுவ தனமதான ப-
 72 ட்டையம் எழுதிக் குடுதென
 73 சிதம்பரம் இளையநயினுனென
 74 சிதம்பர வினாயகப்பிள்ளையா-

1 கலனே இருதூணி.

2 இருகலம்

3 கலனே தூண்க்குறுணி.

4 எண்கலனே குறுணி.

5 இருகலனே இருதூணி.

6 The symbols are not understood

- 75 ருகு [1] இப்படிக்கு சிதம்பரம்
 76 இளைய நயினான எழுத்து [11*]
 77 பெயொட்பபற்றில் உயுளக
 78 III ககு இறை நெல் கோ¹ கடுகவு கள்ளி-
 79 யங்காட்டு வகையில் உ² அளப-
 80 ககு கடமை நெல் கோ சடுக ஆக வகை
 81 உணல் நெல் க-ககு கோ எடுகவு ல பிள-
 82 னையார பூசைக்கு கோ கூவ நா³ விசை-
 83 ஷ பூசைக்கு கோ கூ மடத்து பண்டார-
 84 ததுக்கு கோ கடுகவு பாதெசியக்கு கோ
 85 உயுநி ன் நன்மபத்தாவுக்கு கோ ம⁴
 86 கணக்குப்பிள்ளைக்கு கோ கூ ஆக
 87 ன் க-ககு சிலவு கோ கடுகவு ஸ⁵

Fourth face

- 88 மடத்தில் நமமுடைய
 89 குருக்கள எழுந்தருளி-
 90 னால் ஒரு நாள் பூசை
 91 சிலவு நடப்பிசை குடு-
 92 கவும சிதம்பரம்
 93 இளையநயினான பிறந்த
 94 நாள் ஆடி மீ⁶ தித்திரைக்கு
 95 பாதெசிகளுக்கும் நமமு-
 96 டைய ஊராராருக்கும் வை-
 97 சகட்டுசை சிலவுக்கு நெல்
 98 மிளிர் ககு உபையம் எ-
 99 கெ⁷ எ லுயும் கொண்டு ந-
 100 டப்பிசை கொளவாரா-
 101 கவும மடத்துக்கு வெண்-
 102 டிம செய்தி நமமுடை-
 103 ய ஊரார விசாரித்து
 104 கொளவவும இந்த மட-
 105 ததுக்கும் தன்மத்துக்கும்
 106 ஆரமொருவா அருத்-
 107 ம நினைக்கிறவா கென-
 108 கைக கரையில் காரா-
 109 மபசுவை கொன்ற ம-
 110 தாஷமும் மீரமுத்தி-
 111 யிந தொஷமும் கை-

1 கோட்டை 33½.

2 நிலம் எனக்கலனை பதக்குக்கு.

3 கோட்டை 76½.

4 கோட்டை 6 + ½ + ½.

5 கோட்டை 6½ + ½ + ½.

6 நெல் பதினாறுகலன்

7 நெல் கோட்டை 7½.

- 112 ப்யெப்பாராகவும இ-
 113 நத மடததுக்கும தன்மதது-
 114 க்கும வெண்டுவுது நினை-
 115 க்கிறவா கெகுகைகிலெ
 116 கொடி தானம் பண்ணி-
 117 ன பலன உண்டாகவும [11*]

Translation.

In the Kollam year 864 in which Jupiter stood in Makara, on Saturday, the 11th day of Kārttika which was the thirteenth *tithi* in the Amara-paksha, and had Svātī as the nakshatra with *saubhāgya-yōga* and *āṇai-karana*—on this day the following deed of gift with libation of water was drawn up —

The lands which I, Chidambaram-Iḷaiyanayṇān of Kaḷḷiyanṅādu (a hamlet) to the east of Vīranārāyanachchēri in Kuru-nādu (a sub-division) of Tennādu, gave as a charitable gift with libation of water and a deed, to Chidambara-Viṇā-yakappiḷaiyār in the *matha* of the same village are the following:—

one *taḍi* of land (called) Mudangan, (having the sowing capacity) of two *tūṇi* and three *kuruni* (of seed), irrigable for growing paddy under the tanks (called) Aṇṇanavankulam and Āladittanikkulī;

one *taḍi* of land (called) Tulukkanvayal (having the sowing capacity) of two *tūṇi* and one *padakku*;

one *taḍi* of land in the eastern portion (having the sowing capacity) of one *tūṇi*, one *kuruni* and four *nāli*;

land in the eastern bund and three *taḍi* of land in Toluvadi in all, four *taḍi* of land (having the sowing capacity) of one *tūṇi* and three *kuruni*;

one *taḍi* of land (called) Tattānparambu in the course of the eastern sluice of the Kollakuḷam (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam* and two *tūṇi*,

two *taḍi* of land (called) Āyatturavayal (having the sowing capacity) of two *kalam* and irrigable for paddy from Neduṅgulī and Ālaṅgulī;

one *taḍi* of land at the eastern bund of Kaṇṇiraṅkulī (having the sowing capacity) of one *kalam*, and one *kuruni*;

—thus in all, land many *taḍi* in extent and (having the sowing capacity) of eight *kalam* and one *kuruni* and two separate *kulī* of land in Neduṅgulī and one in Ālaṅgulī.

Water shall be irrigated to (the lands belonging to) the Piḷḷaiyār and the *danmapattā* in the ratio of one to two, after (irrigating all) the lands belonging to the Piḷḷaiyār and the *danmapatta* lying between Āladittanikkulī and Aṇṇanavankōṇam.

The land which was taken on permanent mortgage in the name of the *matha* of Piḷḷaiyār in Peykkōttuparṇu in the course of the western channel of the Periyakuḷam in Alagiypāndiyapuram in Nāṇjinādu is one *taḍi* (having the sowing capacity)

For all these lands, all taxes shall be paid and the lands shall be occupied.

Thus did I, Chidambaram-Ilayanaṁ, write the deed of gift with libation of water to Chidambaram Vmāvakappillaiyār. This is the writing of Chidambaram-Ilayanaṁ.

The tax on of land in Peyottupparṇu is $35\frac{1}{2}$ *kōttai* of paddy, and the tax on 8 *kalam* one *kurinri* of land in Kalliyangādu is 43 *kōttai* of paddy, thus from 76½ *kōttai* of paddy from these two lands was to be given $6 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{10}$ *kōttai* of paddy for the worship of Pillaiyār, 3 *kōttai* of paddy for special worship (to the same god), 13½ *kōttai* of paddy for the *matha*-stores, 25½ *kōttai* of paddy for mendicants (*paṇḍītas*) 12 *kōttai* of paddy to the temple trustees and 9 *kōttai* for the accountant.

--in all, the expenses for one year are $69 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{10}$ *kōttai* of paddy.

If our *guru* should be pleased to visit our *matha* the expenses for one day's worship (to him) shall be met. The expenses of 15 *kalam* required for feeding mendicants and the *ūrūr* of the village on the day of the Chitrā-nakshatra in the month of Aḍi, the day on which Chidambaram Ilayanaṁ was born, shall also be defrayed from 7½ *kōttai* of paddy provided therefor. The affairs of the *matha* shall be looked after by the *ūrūr* of this village.

Those that contemplate evil towards this *matha* and this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges and of killing a brahman. Those that do good to this *matha* and this charity shall obtain the merit of one crore of gifts bestowed on (the banks of) the Ganges.

No. 46—Two Tamil Records from Tiruppatisaram.

The subjoined two records are found in the Vishnu temple at Tiruppatisāram which is a village in the Tovala taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division and is one of the thirteen *divyadēsams* of Vaishnava repute. Only one fragmentary record of this temple dated in Kollam 304 (= A. D. 1129) has been published hitherto. From the fact that the Vaishnava saint Nammālvār has sung about it, it can be stated that the temple must have dated from at least the end of the 8th century A. D., if not earlier, and that the god was known by the name of Tiruvālmāraṇ then, as now.

But it may be remarked that while Nammālvār describes the god as a sitting image of Vishnu,

வருவார் செலவார் வணபரிசாரத்து இருந்த என

கிருவாழ்மராவறகு என திறம் சொல்லார் செயவதென—(VIII-3-7).

Pillaipperumāl-Ayyangār (12th century A. D.) says that the image was in the recumbent posture of a *sayanamūrti*,

அடியுக்குளிருந்தான் னறிவுக்குலைதான்

முடி கின்றான் மூச்சுடங்குமுன்னே—கடிதோடிப

பெண் பரிசாரங்குபிறப்பித்து மீளுவார்

வணபரிசாரகிடந்தமாறகு—*Nūrrettu-tiruppati-andādi*, v. 60

The 12th century record mentioned above, refers to the god of the temple as

கிருப்பதரிசாரத்து வீற்றிருந்தருளின எம்பெருமான்

and as the present image, a *saulha-mūrti*, is in the same sitting posture, we have to consider that Pillapperumāl has made a mistake in his description and that the variant reading திருவணபரிசாரம் மிருநத மாறது is more acceptable. *Māranalankāram*¹ has one verse in praise of this image, but it does not discuss its postural detail.

It is noteworthy that while inscriptions mention Tirupparisāram (the essence of sacred places) as the name, the Vaishnava works invariably call it as Tiruvan-parisāram.

On the east wall of the first prakāra of the Vishnu temple

Text.¹

- 1 கொலலம் ளாஅய்கு ன்ரு ஆவணிமாதம் உடுஉ அமுரபக்கிழத்து சதத-
- 2 மியும் வெள்ளியாட்சையும் உரொகணியும் இனனாளால் நயினா திருவா-
நாமராப நயி-
- 3 னாககு ஆவணிமாதம் திருவொணத்திருனா நடகசுமபடிக்கு அக்கர
தெச்சுர . . சம்புநாராய-
- 4 னா நமபி கணக்காக ஷெஉ ம திருவொணத்திருனா மண்டபத்தில் எழு-
நதருவிசக சிறப்புககு அமு-
- 5 அபடி உருக உபால் பாயித்ததுகு அமுதுபடி இறனாழி பாயித்ததுக்-
கும் சிறப்புக்கும் கறியமுதுககுந தெங
- 6 காப் உ பணிமாறவும் பக்கணத்ததுக்கும் நெய் பழு இலையமுது யி ககு
- 7 அடைக்காயமுது னு பாயித்ததுககு சக்கரை பலம் ச திருமுன் விளக்கு
இரண்டுககு எண்ணை ளு கை-
- 8 . . சாமம் க சீபாதநதாங்கும் பிராமணா பொ ச ககு உ வித்துவா-
கக
- 9 னாச(ளுக)க்கு ஸ திருமுன் பந்தத்ததுக்கும் விளக்கும் ஸ திருச்சுற்றில்
எழுநத
- 10 றுளிச்சால நெத்தியத்ததுக்கும் பொரியமுது உப சறகரை பலம் க இலைய-
- 11 முதுயிககு அடைக்காய னு சாத்துபபடி பலம் இநயினார் சடையபுர
முன-
- 12 டயநயினாக்கு அமுதுபடி உஉ அமபனாறககண்டன் ராததனுக்கு அ-
- 13 முதுபடி உஉயும் அமபை திருப்பதிநங்கைக்கு அமுதுபடி ஆக இந்த-
ப்படி-
- 14 யெ நடக்குமபடி கற்பித்து நாராயணநம்பி குறித்த ஸாநுமி இந-
- 15 த பணம் நூற்றன்பதும் சீபண்டாரத்தில் பற்றிக்கொண்டு இந-
- 16 தப பணத்தின் உபையத்துக்கு ஆண்டுதொறும் சீபண்டாரத்தி

1 பூரித்தெழுநத புணா முலையப புலவிவிடா
வாரித்தரளவடந்ரைதாம—நேரிழையாய
மட்டார பொழில் வண்பரிசார மாதவற காட-
பட்டாரித்தனவோ பண்டு

- 17 ல நினறும் நடத்திப்பொதுவாராகவும் இதுவும் ஷேயான க-
 18 ணக்காக துறாதெசி ஒன்றுக்கு நமக்காரம் ஒன்றுக் மாதம்
 19 ஒன்றுக்கு நமக்காரம் பொ உக்கு அரிசி நடக்கு ஸ- எ-உரியும் கரியமு-
 து ஸ- உஉ உரி
 20 ஆக இந்தப்படி நடக்குமமாறு கற்பித்து ஷேயான கணக்காக சேண-
 டாரத்தில் குடுத்த
 21 ஸூர இந்தப் பணத்தினுபையத்துக்கு சேணடாரத்தில் நினறும் நட-
 த்திப் பொதுவா
 22 ஶாகவுப [11]

Translation.

On the 27th day of the month of Āvanī in the Kollam year 789 which was a Friday with *saptamī-tithi* of the *anura-paksha* and *Rōhinī-nakshatra*, *Sambu-nārāyaṇa-Nambi* gave 150 *panam* for the conduct of the festival on *Tiruvōṇam* in the Āvanī month to the god *Tiruvālmārbaṇ* with the following scale of expenditure —

for *śrāpṇu* expenses (to the god) when he is pleased to be present in the *mandapa* on the *Tiruvōṇam* day, one *padakku* and six *nāl* of rice, for *pāyasam* with milk, two *nāl* of rice, for the above and for curry two cocoanuts, for serving and for cakes one *ālāṅku* of ghee, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, 4 *palam* of sugar for *pāyasam*, one *ālāṅku* of oil for the two lights in front (of the god), 2 *panam* to four brahman-bearers of the image, 3 *panam* for paddy seed per year, 2 *panam* for torch and light in front of the god, 2 *nāl* for fried rice-offering on the occasion of the god's procession in the *surru-mandapam*, sugar one *palam*, 10 betel leaves, 5 arecanuts, $\frac{1}{2}$ *palam* of *śāttuppaḍi*, 2 *nāl* of rice to the god *Śādayapuramudaiya-Nayṇār*, 2 *nāl* of rice to the *Sastā* of *Ambanūr*kandam, and one *nāl* of rice to the goddess *Tiruppatinangai*.

This amount of 150 *panam* was received into the temple-treasury and the above was agreed to be conducted every year.

The same individual also gave 50 *panam* and the *bhaṇḍāra* agreed therefor to feed, at the rate of one man on every *dvādaśi* day, 2 brahmans every month with 3 *nāl* of rice and curry for which were given respectively 7 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy and 3 *nāl* and 1 *uri* of paddy

No. 47 — Tiruppatisaram record of Kollam 961.

This record which is engraved on a slab of stone built into the floor next to the entrance into the first *prākāra* of the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruppatisāram, registers the fact that the paving of the floor with stone flags was accomplished by a private individual, *Kuppāṇ-chiṭṭu* of the village of *Pillaiyārkoṇṇi*, a hamlet of *Kalkulam* in the Kollam year 961

Text.¹

- 1 வகாசுயிக (ஹ) ஆவணி மீ
- 2 மீநவ குருவாரம அசுபதி-
- 3 நடசெதகிரமும் பின்னை
- 4 திருப்பதிசார கொயில
- 5 ஒத்தைக்கல மண்டபம்
- 6 சன்னதிடையில் கல[கு]-
- 7 னம் பிள்ளையாகொயில
- 8 கிராமத்தில் குப்பான சிடி
- 9 கணக்கா யிட்டு இட்ட தள[ம]-
- 10 பபணி திருவாளிமா[ற ப]-
- 11 ன சுவாமியை சதாசொ[வ] [ஹ]

Translation.

On the 13th day of the month of Āvani in the (Kollam) year 961, which was a Thursday with nakshatra Aśvati, the work of paving the floor in front of the *ottakkal-mandapa* in the temple at Tiruppatissāram, was the service (done) to the god Tiruvālmārban by Kuppān-chitti of Pillavārkōvil-grāma in Kalkulam

No. 48--Kulitturai inscription.

This inscription is engraved on a rock in the north side of the Śiva temple at Kulitturai. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the Tamil language. It is not dated in any Kollam year, but may on palaeographical considerations, be as signed roughly to the 15th century A. D. It records an assignment of money and lands by a native of Ayramanram for feeding brahmins.

Text.²

- 1 காககடக ஞாயிற ப அமாவாஸி நாள் நாகமங்க-
- 2 லத்து தெவன தெவன பனையரிககண்டழ[ம்] ஹம்-
- 3 ன [து]டவலும் அயிரமற்றத்து அக்கிரமந் தெவன-
- 4 ல ஒற்றிகொண்டி மீ பிராமணா அமுது செய்-
- 5 ததினனு கலப்பிசு ஒற்றியோலை இரண்டுலும்¹ அ-
- 6 சசு நாலெகால நிலம் முக்குறுணி அயிரமனறந-
- 7 து கெசவன கு[ன]றமைமெல உரி அரி செலவினன அயிர-
- 8 மனறதது பத்தப்பன திருவிக்கிரமன வெண்டும அ-
- 9 சசு அஞ்சு [1*] செறுகுண்டோ குளசுதைக் கவி லுபாதிக்கு
- 10 புவழி
- 11 நெல நாலக்குறுணி ாகொட கொடவறைமண புரைய
- 12 யடமு மகினமெலு மகினகீழ கண்டததின் மெலு[ம்] ஹ்-
- 13 ரிசசிக விளக்கினனு எண்ணை மடை அறுநாழி அ-

1 Registered as No. 64 of the Trav. Epig. Colln for 1084 M. B.

2 Registered as No. 26 of the Trav. Epig. Colln for 1096 M. B.

3 Perhaps we have to read விக்கிரமந்

4 Read இரண்டாலும்

- 14 ஸ் நரழி வெற்றினை அடைக்காய நூறும மருதறைவவ-
 15 னாகத்தனை மெல் எண்ணை மு[நரழி] அரி நா[ழி] உரி
 16 சூழா சொண்ணிரதக்கலை உழுதி மெல் வடக்கின தெவா-
 17 கரு விரி[சு¹]சிக விளக்கினனு நல்லெண்ணை மடை பந்திருநா-
 18 ழி திரு அத்தாழ திருவ ரீதினனு நெல் [க]லம்
 19 மருதனை கொட்டு காலறை உழுதிமெல் பூவழி நெவாககு நெல்
 20 [நா]ழி புதுமனைப் புறையடத்தின மெல் திருகன வாரம் அ-
 21 மபல கதின அநதிவிளக்கினனும நெய நாழி உரி கடந்தானகொ-
 22 டய. நெல் விள[நா]வில் சிறி வித்து கட மையால் கெல் கலம்
 23 பாறலுவரள மத்தகன[டத்து] கழு[ந]கரைக[கொ]ட்டின மெலு-
 24 ட தெக்கின தெவா கரு நந்தாவிளக்கிம² நெய [நா]ழி
 25 நசருப்பா தியறை மெல் பத்தனாபன குட்டன
 26 வெணடு[ம³] அச்சு
 27 உரஉரு

Translation.

On the day of the new-moon in the month of Karkataka, Vikkīraman-
 Dēvan of Āvnanamam, having obtained on mortgage the fields Palaiyarikkandam
 and Ūmantadaval belonging to Dēvan-Dēvan of Nāgamangalam, ordered the feed-
 ing of 12 brahmins and assigned 4½ *achchu* and 3 *kuruni* of land (incorrect for
 paddy) due on (his) two mortgage deeds Padmanābhan-Tiruvikkīraman of Āyira-
 mannam received five *achchu* from (the yield of) Kunraraimuri of Kāśavan of Āyira-
 mannam for (providing one) *uri* of rice.

Four *kuruni* of paddy at each harvest from the land under the tank of Śerū-
 kunḍūr, the yield from the *puraiydam* of Kodavaraman in Pākōdu as well as
 from the lands to the west and east of the same are for (the expenses of) six *nāli*
 of oil (as measured) by the *madai* for Vriśchika lamps, (one) *nāli* of rice, betel
 leaves, areca-nuts and chunam

three *nāli* of oil and (one) *nāli* and (one) *uri* of rice from (the field called)
 Marudagai-vilāgam: 12 *nāli* of gingelly oil (as measured) by the *madai* from the
 field of Kōnnirattai in Sūlūr are for Vriśchika lamps in the northern shrine;

one *kalam* of paddy (from the same) is for the sacred night meal.

(one) *nāli* of paddy at each harvest from the field of Kālārai in Marudai-
 kōḍu (is) for the (same) god;

(one) *nāli* and (one) *uri* of ghee from the Pudunapaippurayidam is for
 the twilight lamp to be lit on each Monday in the temple;

and (one) *kalam* of paddy given as assessment in kind from

. . of Kadandānkōḍu (is also for the same item).

Pattanābhan-Kuṭṭan of Śeruppādiyarai received 225 *achchu* from (the in-
 come of) Kamugaraiikkōḍu on the southern side, in order to supply (one) *nāli* of
 ghee for burning (one) perpetual lamp in the southern shrine as ordered by the
 people of Pārālūr

1 வ looks like து

2 There is some mistake committed in engraving what looks like கிமர.

3 This may also be read as கூ but நாழி is the correct reading

No. 49—Three Chera Coins.

In the Report of the Travancore Archaeological Department for 1920-21, Mr K. V. Subramanya Ayyar, the Superintendent, has the following note on three copper coins unearthed recently in a village in the Travancore State.—

“Mr. Abraham, Vakil, and Mr. Vurghese, Teacher, brought to me three old copper coins for examination. The coins belong to a heap found deposited in a mud-pot kept underground at Parur near Alangad. The pot was unearthed, I am told, by a farmer, while digging a field. The coins appear to be very old. They bear no legends. While two of them are almost semi-circular, the third is slightly square in shape. The obverse has a standing figure of a tusker facing the right, and a staff tipped with a trident is placed in front of it. The reverse of all the coins bears a lamp-stand or a goad and arrow strung to a bow, the top string of the latter being very visible.”

These coins were taken up by me for closer study, and my observations on them are noted below so as to help further examination, if other specimens of the same type should become available on some future occasion.

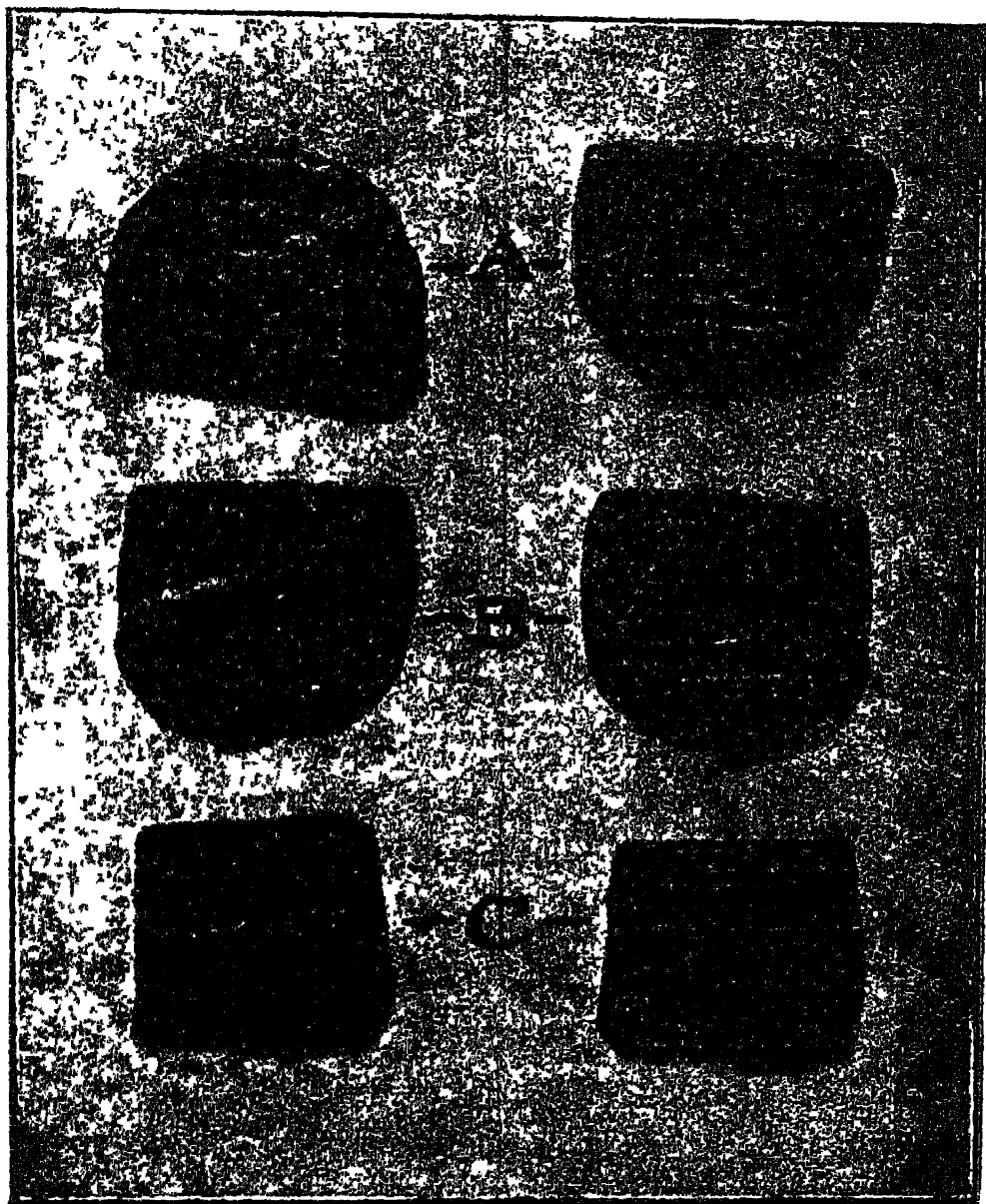
All the three specimens are of the same type, owing perhaps to the carelessness of the man employed who prepared them. They do not unfortunately bear the full impress of the dies. The square coin is thicker than the two semi-circular ones. One of the semi-circular type (shown as A) and the square coin (shown as C) have on their obverse a well-executed figure of a standing elephant facing the right and represented in a very simple way of outline, unhampered by any ornamental trappings. In front of it is placed a flag-staff from the top of which a sacred thread (*dhvaja*) is hanging down with a curling fold at its extremity. In the plain field above the elephant device, the following symbols are figured from left to right.—

- (1) a symbol which consists of a central dot surrounded by a circle of eight depressions contiguously arranged, may, as in other instances, be taken to represent an expanded lotus;
- (2) a *Śaśthā* symbol;
- (3) a device similar to that figured on a coin of Janapadāsa (No. II of Plate IV of *Rapson's Coins*), the significance of which has not been explained by that author, but which may be taken to stand for a *vajra*, a *linga* on its pedestal, or better still, a small lighted lamp;
- (4) the Crescent, and
- (5) the Sun

On the reverse are found.—

- (1) an *aṅkuṣa* or elephant goad in the form of a spear of short haft and hooked end;
- (2) a bow of the five-bends type with a metal-tipped arrow strung into position on the bow-string, which is represented as fluttering forward in two spiral strands from the top notch of the bow;
- (3) a *bhadrāghata* or a *pūrṇakumbha* and
- (4) an obliterated figure which has a resemblance to the Buddhist *triratna* symbol.

THREE_CHERA COINS.



Same size.

A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar.

The other coin shown as B on the plate has only the elephant and the flag on its obverse and the absence of the other five symbols, which may either have become defaced or been omitted would perhaps suggest that this specimen belonged to an earlier type than its companion A.

Presumably owing to its association with royalty and to its forming an important component of the four-fold army of ancient India, the elephant was adopted by more than one dynasty of kings as its numismatic device and we therefore find this royal quadruped represented on the early punch coins,¹ on the coins of the Āndhra,² the Yādava,³ and the Kongu⁴ dynasties, on the coins and copper-plate seals of the Gangas,⁵ and Vijayanagara kings⁶ on the Mysore issues—both Indian⁷ and Muhammadan,⁸ and on the coins of the Western Punjab and the Kabul valley.⁹ The Chēras in particular, had a special partiality for this lord of their own forests, at once the source of their strength and wealth, and this is evidenced by the adoption by some of the kings of this dynasty of certain distinguishing epithets connected with this quadruped. The bow and arrow was also their special device and they were called in consequence the *villavar*. The presence therefore of the elephant on the obverse and the bow and arrow on the reverse distinctly suggests that the coins under review must be of Chēra origin and, according to Rapson,¹⁰ of a period anterior to 1090 A. D; but in the absence of any elucidatory legends on the coins themselves, their age cannot be fixed with any tolerable accuracy, unless helped by further data from future finds. The general appearance and style of the coins would, however, suggest their being dated one or two centuries earlier than the later limit noted above, and may have been the forerunners of the coins mentioned in para 5 below.

The symbols figured on the coins deserve some notice. The elephant (an emblem of royalty), the lotus¹¹ (the Indian traditional symbol of mysterious birth) and the *svastika*¹² (the philosophical symbol of evolution) are among the eight objects of auspiciousness¹³. The crescent and the sun are generally figured on the tops of copper-plate and lithic inscriptions as emblems of permanence and are cited as eternal witnesses of mundane affairs in the expressions '*āchandaṁ ārkam*' and '*chandrādityar-ullavar*'. Their introduction on Chēra coins has perhaps the

1 Nos. 1 and 6 on Plate I of Elhot's *Coins of Southern India*

2 No. 43 on Plate II, *Ibid*

3 No. 92 on Plate III, *Ibid*

4 Nos. 118 and 119, *Ibid*

5 *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XX p. 304

6 No. 117 on Plate III, of *E. C. S. I.*

7 Henderson's *Coins of Harda and Tappa*

8 Nos. 1 and 2 on Plate III, of Rapson's *Coins of Southern India*

9 Rapson p. 36

10 *A Guide to Sanchi*, page 41

11 Havell's *Architecture of India*, page 17

12 There are different lists, but the following verse is from the *Jñānabrahmaṇḍa*

பரந்தொனியுமீழும் பைம்பொற கண்ணடி பதாகை தோட்டி

விரிந்திருண்மேயுஞ் செம்பொன் வீனக்கு வெண்முரசு கும்பஞ்

சுந்தவெண்மதியை ஈகுன்று கடிரகொண்டு தொகுத்தபோலும்

பொருநது பொருந் திரபெயகறறை புணர்சயல போந்தவனதே—*Śāṇḍaravastāṭīya*, v. 137.

additional significance, if such was intended, of suggesting the Chēra's descent from the Chandradityakula,¹ the luni-solar race. The *aṅkuśa*² (Tamil-*iōtti*) 'a sign of authority and of selective discrimination' occurs in company with the other items of royal paraphernalia such as a pair of chowries and a state-umbrella in the seals of many copper-plate grants. The *pūrnakumbha* or the *amritakalāsa*, a vessel of consecrated water with a bunch of green mango leaves inserted into its mouth, is one of the auspicious signs of plenty and prosperity and is generally found flanked by a pair of lighted lamp. It occurs in this combination in the seal of the Kcdlūr plate³ of the Gaṅga king Mārasimha.

We know that a coin called the '*āṇai-achcheu*' which, as its name implies, was a die-struck coin stamped with an elephant's figure,⁴ was current both in the Kongu-mandalam⁵ and in the West Coast in the 12th and 13th centuries, but there is reason to believe that it must have been of a far higher denomination than the small copper coins under reference and that it must have been also of more precious metal than copper. It is also understood that it superseded another coin called the '*śiṇiyakkī-achcheu*' of an older system of currency, which had the figure of a *yakshī* embossed on it and whose design was perhaps influenced by Ceylon issues. *Undi-achcheu* and *amudan-achcheu* were two other coins current at that time; but their relative values are not ascertainable, except that the later was a golden coin and that 53 of the former was the annual interest on 707 *āṇai-achcheu*, but as the rate of interest per cent has not been mentioned, it is not possible to ascertain their relative values.

No. 50.—Copper-plate record of Kollam 925.

The subjoined copper-plate record is kept in the Palace Chellamvagai at Trivandrum and purports to be the deed relating to the sale of some lands in Puhyanturuttu by Kumaran-Śrīkanṭhan Tirumūlpāḍ of Maññaḍu to Davidakkal Parādēsi. In another copy of the same document written on cadjan in the Malayālam characters and found among the *ōlan* bundles in the same place, the purchaser is stated to have been a resident of Cochin (*kochechīyil-kudi-īrikkum*). In either case, it is not known why the document should have found its way into the Palace records, and to what nationality the purchaser belonged. Dāvīda may be phonetically equivalent perhaps to David.

The language and script of the record are Malayalam; and it is noticeable that the verbs have not discarded their personal suffixes as in modern Malayalam; cf. *konḍāṇ* in l 8.

1 *Madras Epig. Report* for 1910, page 59

2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol I, page 294.

3 Plate X of the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1921

4 Cf. the *āṇai-paṇa* of Mysore-Elliot's *Coins*, page 105

5 *Madras Epigraphical Reports* for 1912 and 1916 and *Trav Archl Series*, Part I, Vol III

മുരം മുരട മുരക്കുപ്പതമ്പും നെല്ല നീര നി-

- 14 ധി മൺപെടും കാടും മീൻപെടും തുറയും തെൻപെടും ചൊലയും ആരും
പൊക്കം വഴിയും നീർപൊക്കം കാലും
- 15 അതിരും വരവും ആറുവയ്പും അറ തറ കിണറാകാമ പാതാളവും
ഇന്നാലതിക്കത്തക്കപ്പെട്ട തെപ്പെപ്പെട്ടതും
- 16 കൂടി അട്ടിപ്പെറാകെ എഴുതിച്ച കൊണ്ടാൻ ഭാവിതഇക്കെൽ[പരദേശി] [11']
ഇപ്പരിചെ എഴുതിക്കൊ-
- 17 ഞമെയിക്കും ഇത കാവുക്കൽ പറമ്പത്ത ഉണ്ണി ചിത്രകണ്ടൻ കയ്യു-
ത്ത [11']

Translation.

This is the title-deed given with libation of water in the Sunha month of the Kollam year 925.

For the lands in Puliyanturuttu within the four boundaries — to the west of the garden below the *Elaññi* and *Turuttuapalli*, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden of *Sāttōdu*—which were under the management of *Kunaran-Srikanthan* *Tirumūlpād* of *Māññādu*, the purchase money was received and the lands were given as *attipērū* (with libation of water).

Thus for these lands in Puliyanturuttu within the four boundaries— to the west of the garden behind *Elaññi* and *Turutturapalli*, to the south of the northern channel, to the east of the western channel and to the north of the garden in *Sāttōdu*—the purchase money was paid by and the title-deed was drawn up for *Dāvida-ikkel-paradēsi*. In this manner the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel-beds, river deposits, boundary limits and ridges, buildings, field sites, wells, and all that exist above and below the ground surface for all these items within the four boundaries, the purchase money was received and the freehold title-deed was drawn up and given.

In this manner for the stones, crags, stumps of nux-vomica trees, thistles, waste lands, paddy, water (-sources), treasure-trove, woodlands haunted by deer, water patches infested with fish, gardens abundant with honey, footpaths, channel-beds, boundary limits and field-ridges, river deposits, buildings, wells and all that exist above and below the ground surface within these four boundaries, the title-deed was drawn up and obtained by *Dāvida-ikkel-paradēsi*.

This is the signature of *Unni-Srikanthan* of *Kāvungal-parambu* (as witness) for writing this deed in this manner.

No. 51—Ilamba record of Vira Marttanda Ravivarman: Kollam 781.

The subjoined record which is engraved on the west base of the *mandapa* in front of the Śiva temple at Ilamba is in the Malayalam script and language. It is dated in the Kollam year 781 in the reign of the king Vira Mārttānda Ravivarman Tiruvadi, and relates to the construction of certain additional buildings to the new temple at Ilamba.

Text.

- 1 ഇളവൈ പുതിയകോയക്കൽ ശ്രീവീരമാർത്താണ്ഡ
- 2 ഇരവിവർമ്മ തിരുവാടിക്കരമന്ത കൊയിക്ക-
- 3 മിക്കൾ ചെയ്യിച്ചു തിരുപ്പണി നെയ്യധമ മാണ്ട
- 4 ഇടവമാസത്തിൽ തുടങ്ങി തളവും ചുവരും മ-
- 5 ണ്ടപാലം പണിചെയ്യിച്ചു [എ]യന്ന മാണ്ട കലശ്ശ[11].

Translation.

The works which were added to the new temple at Ilamba by the officers of the king Śrī Vīramārttānda Ravivarman Tiruvadi in charge of the temple, namely, the paving, walls and the *mandapa* which were commenced in the Rishabha month of the (Kollam) year 781, were completed and the consecration ceremony was in the year [78]3

No. 52—Other pillar labels in the same temple.

The four inscriptions noted below are engraved on the pillars in the *nāl-ambalam* of the Śiva temple in the same village of Ilamba; and though they are not important mentioning, as they do, the names of the donors of the particular pillars, they have been published here with a view to bring together all readable records, both ancient and modern. The alphabet of the inscriptions is Malayalam in the first three instances and Tamil in the case of the fourth

A.

- 1 വരക്കര
- 2 പി ഇരമവ്
- 3 പിള്ള ചെയ്
- 4 ചിപ്പി തുണ

B.

- 1 നാണി
- 2 ചെലവര-
- 3 ധപ്പി-
- 4 ജ്ജ ചെ-
- 5 യിച്ച തുണ

1 Registered as No. 123 of the Trav. Epig Colln for 1096 M. S.

A. B. C. D.—Registered as Nos 124 to 127 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1096 M. S.

C.	D.
1 நவரக-	1 அது உதி
2 துறு பரி-	2 முக்காணி
3 சுமரல் கை-	3 கலதின
4 உவல் உவ-	4 நல்ல
5 விழ துண	5 ப பெருமாள்
	6 எ ஆண

No. 53—Suchindrum Plate of Kollam 621.

The subjoined inscription is engraved in Tamil characters on both sides of a single sheet of copper-plate, measuring $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 11\frac{1}{2}''$, which had owing to its thinness got broken at a third of its length and has now been joined together by small rivets. The original is understood to be in the possession of a private individual at Suchindram employed as a temple official; but the record is edited here from an ink-impression of it preserved in this office.

It is dated in both the Śaka and Kollam eras and as the Kollam year is clearly indicated as 621 which corresponded to the cyclic year Raktāksha (given incorrectly in the record as *Rartīcha*), the Śaka equivalent ought to have been 1367, which is wrongly entered as 137. The engraving is slovenly and the alphabet appears to be somewhat later than the first half of the 15th century A. D. The astronomical details give the English date A. D. 1444, October 3; but the week-day was Saturday and not Monday as noted in the record.

Among the orthographic peculiarities may be mentioned the incorrect use of *r* in places requiring only its softer equivalent, the transformation of Sanskrit words into vulgar Tamil forms such as *ātchandīra* for *āchundra*, *Rartīcha* for *Raktāksha*, *detchanāyina* for *dakṣhāyana* etc. In the last two lines at the end of the plate the '*eluttu*' has been written in a degenerated Vatteluttu script, which was apparently the futile attempt of the engraver who was not conversant with that alphabet. The repetition of that word seven times probably shows that there were seven *sthānattūrs* to the temple, whose individual signatures the several *eluttu* were intended to represent.

The object of the record was to register the fact that certain *ṇōṇippara-dēsis* or religious mendicants were appointed to the office of *ānavāl* of the temple at Suchindram. ¹*Ānavāl* (or *āṇavāl*, *ānavāl* as noted in this record) is the name now given to brahman managers of temples. The personal attendants of the Rajas

1 This word occurs in a record of Bhūtappāṇḍi in the sense of a subordinate official. It has probably to be derived from *āna* (skt. *ajña*) *Ānyam* and *anatt* (skt. *ajñāpti*) occur in Iluzur Office plates of Karunadadakkān. *Ānavāl* is divisible into *āna* + *vāl* and may be analogous to the suffix in *nālvāl* and *vālvāl* of records. *Ānavāl* occurs in Telugu records, where it means 'evidence or credentials.'

who are generally of the brahman caste are also called *āṇavāl-ugattu-āṇavāl* and *purattu-āṇavāl* according to the place of their service, in the king's antechamber or outside. In the present record, the *yōgipparadēsis* who were apparently Śūdras appear to have been entrusted with specific duties such as the conduct of certain temple festivals from some revenue collected on the temple lands. The introduction of some slightly supernatural element in the document, namely that the orders emanated from the god Suchindramudaiya-Nayinār and Ten-Tiruvēṅgaḍa-Emberumān —

‘சசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் திருமுங்கிலடியில் அனுககிரகமானகாலத்து’
and ‘பதிப்பிச்சுக் குடுக்குமபடிக்கு தென்திருவேங்கடவிண்ணவா எம்பெருமான் அனுககிரகமானபடிக்கு’—

as well as the more modern appearance of the letters tempt one to question the correctness of the alleged age of the plate. No king's name is mentioned in the record. This record is not found copied on the rock in the temple

Text.¹

First side

- 1 சகாந்தம [௧௦௮] [௬௦²] என் மெல்ச செல்லாநின்ற தனுவியாழம் மிதி
னசசனி கொல்லம் சய[௨]மெ ஹம் [றற்] தீட்ச ஹ தெட்ச-
- 2 ஹயினமான அல்பசி 1² ௧௨² சொமவாரமும் புணாபூசநட்சத்திரமும்
திதி பூவபட்சசதது சததமியும் சித்திரித்திய நாமயொகமும் ஆ-
- 3 வைகரணமு[ம¹] பெற்ற ஹ என் பகல் ௧௪ நாளிகையில் தனராசி நெர
ததில் நயினார் சசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் ஆட்செந்திரகால-
- 4 மும் ஆள்கொண்டயொகிப்பரதெசிகள் பொ உடு-ம் ஆனைவாளாக
கண்டுகொள்ளுமபடிக்கு நயினார் சசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் திரு-
- 5 முங்கிலடியில் அனுககிரகமான காலத்திலுக்கந அடிமைகள் யொகிப்பர
தெசிகளென்று செம்பிலுஞ் சிலையிலுந் திருவறையிலும்
- 6 காணுமபடிக்கு ஆட்செந்திரகாலமுங் கையககொண்டு நயினார் சசீந்திரமு
டைய நயினார் கொவிலுக்கு நயினார் தெசமாயிடந்
- 7 உள்ளதுக கெல்லாந் கெழவியு மாசசினையுமாக து-ம் பணமும் பிரி
ப்பிச்சு நயினாருடைய அடியெந்தாமெல்லாம் நடத்தும்-

Second side.

- 8 படிக்கு இருவாரமும் அடங்கின காராமை நிலம் உடுக ன்படிக்கு உ-
கொட்டை இருபத்துமுனும் ஆட்டவிசெஷமாக விசெ-
- 9 ஷத்திலத் தானத்துக்கு அநிக படித்தாரமு மெனமெலும் அடியெந்தி-
ரம் பொலெ காராமை அதிகமும் பதிப்பிச்சுக் குடுக்குமபடிக்கு
- 10 தெந்திருவெங்கடவிண்ணவா எம்பெருமான் அனுககிரகமானபடிக்கு நயி
னார் சசீந்திரமுடைய நயினார் கொவிலுக்கு
- 11 யொகிப்பரதெசிகள் பொ உடு-ம் ஆசெந்திரகாலமும் ஆனைவாழாக
நடக்குமபடிக்கு செம்பிலுஞ் சிலையிலும் வெட்டி-

1 Registered as No. 13 of the Trav. Epig Colln for 1098 M E

2 The week-day is found to be Saturday and not Monday in the *Ephemers*.

- 12 பிழ்ச்சக குடுதெதாம நயிலா சிந்திரமுடைய நயிலா கொவிலுக குகநத்
தானத்தாராகள விழுது¹
13 எழுத்து எழுத்து எழுத்து விழுது² எழுத்து எழுத்து
14 ஷே கணக்கு தானுமாலையப்பெருமான திருவெங்கடம் எழுத்து [11]

Translation.

On the 5th day of the month of Alpasi of Raktāsha (Rartīcha) corresponding to the Kollam year 621 which was current after Śaka 13[6^r]7 had expired and in which year Jupiter was in Dhanus and Saturn in Mithuna—on this day, which was a Monday with the saptami-tithi of the first fortnight, nakshatra Punarpūsam, siddhinyānāma-yōgam and ānaikkaranam, at 14-nāḷigai midnoon at the time of Dhanu-rāsi —

the god Suchīndramudaiya-Nayinār having been pleased, at the foot of the sacred bamboo (*tiṇmūṅgil*), to order the appointment of the twenty three *Āṭṭonḍa-yōgypparadēsīyal* as *āṇaivāl* (of the temple) so long as the moon endures, it was accepted to last as long as the moon and this fact was made public (by being engraved) on copper, stone, and on the sacred rock

Having collected 1000 *panam* by *kēḷi* and *āchchūmai* on all lands belonging to the temple of Suchīndramudaiya-Nayinār, and Ten-tiuvēngada-vinnavar Emberumāṇ also having been pleased to order that the *kārāṇmai* on certain lands which was 23 *kōttar* of 21 (*marakkāl*) was to be utilised for the festivals, the *kāṇmai* being increased proportionately to the expenditure of the festivals, we, the selected *tāṇattār* of the temple of Nayinār Suchīndramudaiya-Nayinār had the fact engraved on copper and stone, that the 23 *yōgypparadēsīs* were appointed as the *āṇaivāl* of the temple as long as the moon

These are our signatures This is the writing of the accountant Tānu-mālaiyaperumāḷ Tiruvēṅgadam

No 54—Inscription of Parthivapuram.

The subjoined inscription in Vatteluttu is engraved on the base of the *surru-mandapa* (outside) at the proper left of the entrance into the Vishnu temple at Pārthivapuram. It is incomplete and seems to register gift of land for maintaining Vriśchika lamps in the temple, ordered to be put up by Kāman-Tadakkan, a native of Kuṇrattūr. The temple at Pārthivaśekharaapuram was, as we know, constructed by Karunandadakkan, an Āy chief ruling over the eastern hilly region of the Travancore State. It is noteworthy that the donor in the present record is named Tadakkan and not as Adakkan. It cannot be stated whether this individual who made a gift of lands to the temple at Pārthivaśekharaapuram, was himself in any way connected with the Āy family

1 The words *eluttu* which are repeated five times in this line are in the Vatteluttu script

2 *Trav Archl Series*, Vol I, p 7

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்வித ஸ்ரீ [1*] இடபத்தில் வியாழ நினற யாண்டு குனறத்தூர காமந் த
டககன பாரத்திவசெகாபுரத்து தெவாகு
- 2 அடடிய மிருச்சிய² விளகுகுக்கு எருக்கி[லை] மண்ணென்ற தொட்டமும
புனுவறை தடிபிரண்டும் உதிககாஸ்மணக்கொட்டிம குலககுடிபபழ³

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year in which Jupiter stood in Rūṣhabha, Kāman-
Tadakkan of Kunrattūr (ordered to be) put up (in the temple) of Pārthivaśekhara-
purattu-dēva, *vr̥śchika* lamps, and for (them) the garden called Erukkilaiman
together with two *tadi* of Puṇāvarai as well as Udikkālmankōdu . . .

Tirukkadittanam Records.

Tirukkadittanam which is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* sacred to Vishnu in Malai-mandalam, is a village two miles to the east of Chenganacheri, a taluk-station of the Travancore State. The god of the temple has been glorified in a hymn of Nammālvār, who has also commemorated the adjacent Vishnu temples of Tiruvalla, Tiruvanyandūr, etc. The *Māranalankāram*¹ of Tirukkurukappirāṇ and the *Nārrethu-tiruppati-antādi*² of Pillaiyapperunāl-Ayyangār have also one verse each in praise of this place. The temple which dates itself epigraphically from the time of the Chēra king Bhāskari-Ravivarman *i. e.* from the closing years of the 10th century, must have existed, though not necessarily in its present form, much earlier from the beginning of the 9th century at least, as it was visited by Nammālvār. The village has been described in the *Tiruvāymol* as surrounded by brahman habitations resounding with the hum of the Vedic chants, but there are no other details in that decade of verses which are of historical value. It is worth noting that, while all these authorities call the village by the name of

1 Registered as No. 78 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1087 M. E.

2 Read விருச்சி.

3 The inscription is incomplete.

4 மண்டாரமுதற்கான மலமுந்நைக வான பொருளவாழ
வண்டாக நீ குறித்ததொப்பெனரு—லண்டா
மருந்தே பெறப் புநநமால கடிததானதநா
னிருந்தே திறந்தேதிதற்கு.

—*Māranalankāram*, v. 528

5) காணவிருமபுமெனகண னையுந்தொழவிருமபும
பூணவிருமபுமெனறன புனறல்தான—வாணன
நிருக்கடிததானததானநிரியான்றண்டான
நிருக்கடிததானததானை—செனறு.

—*Nārrethu-Tiruppati-antādi*, v. 72

Tirukkadittānam, the *Kēraḷolppatti* and the *Unṇunīlīsandēśam*¹ give it the denomination of Trikkodittānam.

Several records of the temple belong to the reign of Bhāskara-Ravivarman, the last of the line of Chēra kings who wielded suzerain authority over the petty chieftancies of Malai-mandalam and four of them have been published in Volume II of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*². But three of these have had to be re-edited now, as they have not been given in full in that volume and only their first lines have been published.

No. 55—Tirukkadittanam record of Ravi-Rama.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the walls of the central shrine at Tirukkadittānam and is dated in the year opposite the second year of king Ravi-Rāman. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet of about the time of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman and is in the Tamil language which is but sparingly adulterated by an admixture of the usual Malayalam forms of words, the few instances occurring in it being—*vālṇṇra*, *vālunna*, *irunna*, *amaruḥa*, *annuñña*, *olṇṇa*, *pādu-tāñṇuviḍu*, *kalañṇu*, *nākkunnam*, *eludicheluḍu*, *vittuchelu*, which are used for the correcter Tamil words *vālukiṇra*, *vāḷinda*, *irunda*, *amaru*, *anninda*, *olinda*, *pādu-tāṅguvaḍu*, *kalaṇṇu*, *nākkiyum*, *eludivittadu* and *viḍuvittu*. It may be noticed that almost all of them are instances of surds changed into nasal equivalents, which was a common device used in the evolution of the Malayalam dialect. Grantha letters have been used only in a few cases: *svasti svī* at the beginning and the end of the inscription, *bha* in *sabha*, *śa* in *dēśakālam* in (l. 2) and *śabda* in *pañchamāśabdam* (l. 2).

Nīṭṭupall is the god's bath, *pall* being (according to Gundert) an honorific suffix to *nīṭṭu*=bath, when referring to the sacred bath of the god or of the king. *Nīṭṭupall* might also mean the *abhishēka-mandapa* (*pall* signifying a room), but the use of the word in the present record and in other inscriptions makes the former meaning more appropriate. Provision was made in this temple for the sounding of the *pañchamahāśabda* at the time of the god's bath, akin to a similar provision made in the Tiruvalla plates,³ where the five musical instruments, *ṇḍar*, *ṇḍilai*, *ṣēgandi*, *kaittālam* and *kālam* have been mentioned. The Huzur office plates of Karunandadakkur however give another list of five instruments: *tattali*, *maddali*, *karaiṇṇai*, *tālam* and *kākalam*.

Kottādu-pullppaḍi is an expression which may be taken to mean here 'if the sounding is rendered nought', *pull* being a cipher in arithmetic. Or it may also suggest that a mark was entered in the temple register against the names of the defaulters (*pull*=a mark, an entry) for the purpose of levying appropriate

1 മുക്കോലും ചെൻറിയവർത്തമാനം തരിശോടൊത്തൊരുമമ്പി.

൨ നക്കോർവണ്ണൻ ചരണയുതും കൂട്ടിനേരേരടന്നാൽ

2 *J. T. A. S.*, Vol. III pp. 33, 36, 40 and 41

— *Unṇunīlīsandēśam*, s. 126

fines from them: and *pullippattavar* and *pullippatta-nel* (l. 2) will then mean, 'those against whom entries (of absence) had been made' and 'the paddy payable according to the default-entries'.

Pattāyam is a corn-chest. Gundert gives the meaning 'a large chest to keep rice', while Winslow also explains it similarly, but both seem however to suggest that the word is of Portuguese origin. The use of the word in the present early record shows that it is an indigenous word. *Pattāyappura* and *pattāyakketu* also mean the place where the corn-bins are kept standing. In the present record, a wooden granary which was the property of the temple and which had been kept at the disposal of the drummers for storing their grain was ordered to be got back from them in case they proved to be defaulters.

The title of *Nāyar* the honorific plural of the word *Nāyan* (Skt *nāyaka*) has been used here to denote the ruler of the district—*nāḍuvāḷṇa-nāyar* (l. 3).

The object of the inscription is to record the arrangements made for the sounding of the five great sounds (*pañcamāsahdam*) in the temple of Bhatāra at Tirukkadittānam, for which service certain lands were given by Sēnman-Tāyan of Teñchēri, who was the examiner or auditor of the temple accounts. The conditions and regulations relating to the proper conduct of the service were fixed by the *ūr*, *panṇai* and *sabhai* of the village which met in the temple under the presidency of Iyakkam-Śrīkantaṅṇam of Manalmanram, who was the governor of Napprulai nāḍu at the time. The penalty for the non-observance of the rules was fixed at varying grades of fines diminishing in geometrical progression.

100 *kalaṅṇu* of gold to the king (*perumāṇaḷigal*)

50 *kalaṅṇu* to the governor of the district (*nāḍuvāḷmaran*) and

25 *kalaṅṇu* to the officer in immediate charge of the village (*vāḷḷkai-
iḷumaran* namely, the *deśavāḷi*)

That the temple must have had worship conducted in it for more than three times daily is evident from the fact that the absence of the *śrībali*-servants for three times during a day was visited with a fine of a quantity of paddy, whereas similar failure for the whole day was liable to a separate and perhaps a great penalty. As in the Tiruvalla plates, the fines levied from the delinquent drummers were ordered to be paid to the *kīḷsānti* in this case also.

It is a point worthy of note that the temple servants (*paṇimakkaḷ*) were authorised to set right any difficulties arising in the conduct of the service and if it was beyond settlement among themselves, the *ūrālar* were to be called in for a decision. If, however, in the opinion of the servants any member of the *ūrālar* was considered to be swayed by any prejudice or ill feeling, the difficulties were to be solved in the immediate presence of the ruler of the district and the representatives of the *munṇūrruvar*-assembly (of Napprulai-nāḍu).

The lands intended for this service were also restricted from being either mortgaged or disposed of by sale.

The king Ravi-Rāman in whose third year (the year opposite the second year of reign), the record is dated is not identifiable, but on palaeographical

ground-, the record can be attributed to the 11th century and may be considered posterior to the time of Bhāskara-Ravi-varman. As the date of accession and the length of reign of the latter have not been *definitely* ascertained, it cannot be said whether Ravi-Rāman was his actual successor, though it is not improbable. Between Bhāskara-Ravi (A. D. 978-1036) and Kulasekhara of the Quilon record (A. D. 1102) there is a gap of half a century.

In the Tripūnittūya temple in the Cochin State is found a lithic record dated in the 30th year of reign of king Kōḍai-Ravi, and Ravi-Ādicchan, presumably a royal personage, is also mentioned therein. This record is also palaeographically attributable to the 12th century A. D., but one cannot say if the Ravi-Rāman of the Tirukkadittānam record was connected with either of them.

On the west, south and east bases of the central shrine

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||*] கொ இரவிஇராமனுக்கு செல்லாநின்ற யாணடிநண்டு இ
தின நெதிராமாண்டு மினத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற காககடகஞாயிறு
திருச்சுந்தரன் தூராரும் யாடையாரும் சபையாரும் நன்று[இ]ழ
நாடு நாநின்ற மணலமனறத தியக்கஞ் சிரிகண்டனும் இவர்கள் மு
ககாலவட்டத்து அவிரோத[த*]தாலக கூடிச செய்த காரியமாவது
[||*] படாரருடைய பண்டாரம் கெட்ட தென்செரிச செநநந தாய
னுடைய இடையிடம் அவன் குடி இருந்த புரையிடமு ஞாறலவெலிக
ரியும் வட்டக்கரியும் பயிறாட்டியாகின்ற நிலத்தில் இவன்னுள்ள கூ
றும் செனாட்டி பலிக்கணத்தில்² அவன்னுள்ள படகாரமும் இச
சொன்ன சேனாட்டி புரையிடமும் தென்செரிச செநநந தாயனுடைய
யிடையி டித்தனையும் மற்றும் பிணுள்ளதெல்லாம் உளளொடுங்க ஊ
ரும் பரடையும் ஸ்ரீயும் இவர்கள் திருவுள்ளம் அவிரோதமாககி உ
ளளிருநது நன்றுழை நாடு வாழினற மணலமனறத தியக்கன் ஸ்ரீக
ண்டன

பஞ்சமாஸுஷ் அமைச்சான் அமைச்ச பரிசாவது [||*] நிராட்டுள்ளி
சுரு அய்வா கொட்டுவது [||*] திருப்பவிக்கு நால்வர் கொட்டுவிது
[||*] கொட்டாது புள்ளிப்படிப படவா முநநாழி நாழியால இருநா
ழிச செய்துநெல தண்டமிடுவிது [||*] மூன்றுதென்காலமும் முட்டு
கில இவ்வொபாதியால் எந்ந நெல கொடுத்த கொட்டுவிது [||*]
ஒரு நாள் தெகிய முட்டுகில் இடங்கழியால் நாழி எண்ணை திருமெனி
மெலாட்டுவிது [||*] ஆட்டின எண்ணையில் பாதியும் புள்ளிப்பட்ட
நெல்லும் கிழ்ச்சாநதி செய்யுமவன் கொள்விது [||*] மறமுழிஞ்ஞ
எண்ணை திருக்கொயிலுடையார் கொள்விது [||*] இப்பணி செய்

1 Registered as Nos. 90 of 1086 and 19 of 1097 of the Trav. Epig. Colln

2 Probably பலிக்கண்டதில்

3 Read 'பஞ்சமாஸுஷம்'—the five great sounds *vaḥ, jendai, timalai, śēgandi, kaṭṭaiḥam* and *kaḷam*, compare the Tiruvalla plates, I. 352-3

வான் அமைஞரு பணிமககன அடுத்த மூன்றுநாள் முடிகில் கிழ
சாந்தியுடையவன் கிழ அமைஞரு பரிசு கொளவிது [1] பலநாள் அ
டுத்த முடிகில் முட்டின அள[வ*] கண்ட ஊராளர் தருமேனி டெ
லாட்டிப்பிது [1⁺] இவ்வண்ணம் அமைச்ச பஞ்சமாய்ஸும் விலகி மு
ட்டிகுமவனும

ஃ இதினு கமைஞ்ச பூமியும் புரையிடமும பத்தாயமும விவெந்தக [1⁺]
பாடுதாங்குவிதாக செய்வனும் இருகூறு பறையுமவனும் ஊரான்
மைக கிடையுடுங் கெட்டு பெருமானடிகளக்கு தூற்றுக் கழஞது
பொன்னுந் நன்று[சை*]ழ நாடு வாழும்[வ*]ராககு அயம்பதின கழ
ஞனும் வாழ்க்கைவாழும்வனுக்கு இருபத்தைங் கழஞது பொன் ட
ண்டப்படுவிது [1*] இப்பரிசின் நாடுவாழ்ந்ந நாயரும் முந்நன்றுவரும்
பணியுடையவகளும் உள்ளிருநது இக்கச்சம எழுதிச்சிது [1*] பணிம
ககளும் இதினுக்கு வருந்தப்படி வி[ல⁺]க்கினும் வருவிது [1*] ஓயாயில்
ஊராளரெ திராத்து கொடுப்பிது [1*] இவகளில் ஆகாதவண்ண மிரு
க்கில் நாடு வாழும்வரையும் முந்நன்றுவரும் பணி உடையவகளையும்
உருவதிச்ச அவகளால் விட்டச்சகக் கொளவிது [1⁺] இதினு கமை
ஞரு நிலம் ஒற்றி வைக்கவுங் கொளளவும் பெறா [1⁺] வீவீழி மீ:—

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

When the year opposite to the second year of (the reign of) king Iravi-
Rāman was current, in the month of Karkataka when Jupiter stood in Mīna, the
ūrār of Tirukkadittānam, the council (*paradai*), the (village) *sabhā*, and Iyakkān-
Śrīkanthap of Manalmanram governing Nanrulai-nādu, met together amicably in
the temple and transacted the (following) business

Having obtained the unanimous consent of the *ūr*, the *paradai* and the
sabhā for the following (pieces of land), namely,—the *idaiyīdu* of Sēnnaṭ-Ṭayan
of Tenṣēri who audited the (accounts of the) temple-treasury, the site in which he
was residing, Jñāralvēlikar, Vattakkari, his portion in the land called Payirraṭṭi,
and his share as *padakāram* in Tenvāyppalikkān[d*]am—with all these above-
mentioned lands and sites together with the *idaiyīdu* of Sēnnaṭ-Ṭayan of Tenṣēri,
Iyakkān-Śrīkanthap of Manalmanram governing Nanrulai-nādu, who was present,
provided (in the following manner) for (sounding) the *pañcamahāśabda*.

Five (men) should sound during the (god's) bath (*nīrāṭṭupalli*) and four
(men) should sound during (the time of) the sacred *bali*

Those that are absent (*pullippadu*) without sounding, shall pay a fine of
two measures of good paddy by the measure holding three *nāli*. If there is de-
fault for three occasions (during the day), they shall sound (only) after paying
the paddy that had accumulated under this restriction. If there is default
throughout the day, a fine of (one) measure of oil as measured by the *idaṅgaḷi*
shall be (collected and) poured over the god. Half of this oil used for the (god's)
bath and the paddy accruing from default shall be taken by the person performing
(the work of) *kīlśānti*. The balance of the oil shall be taken by those in charge
of the temple (*tirukkōyiluḍaiyār*). If the servants (intended) for this service

(*pañchamahāśabda*) are remiss for three consecutive days, they shall be liable to the stipulated penalty under the (person officiating as) *kīlśānti*. If there is default for many days successively, the *ūrālar* shall (themselves) find the quantity of oil at default and shall have the god bathed with it.

He who causes this *pañchamahāśabda* constituted in this manner to be discontinued, shall relinquish the lands, sites and granary belonging to this (service). He who acts so as to support the side (of the above individual) and he who gainsays (the above terms) shall lose his tenancy rights (*idanyīdu*) under the *ūrānmai* and shall pay a fine of one hundred *kalañju* of gold to the king (*perumānadi*), fifty *kalañju* to the chief governing Nanrulai-nādu, and twenty-five *kalañju* of gold to the officer in immediate control (*vāṅklai-vāḷumavan*).

These regulations appertaining to this transaction were drafted in the presence of the Nāyar ruling the (Nanrulai-)nādu, the three-hundred, and the (temple) servants. The (temple) servants shall remove the hindrances arising to this (service). If not (so) freed by themselves the *ūrālar* shall settle (them). Should there be any objectionable individuals among them (the *ūrālar*), the difficulties shall be removed with the help and in the presence of the governor of the country (*nūduvāḷumavar*), the three-hundred and the (temple) servants.

The lands dedicated to this (gift) shall not be mortgaged or bought.

Hail! Prosperity!

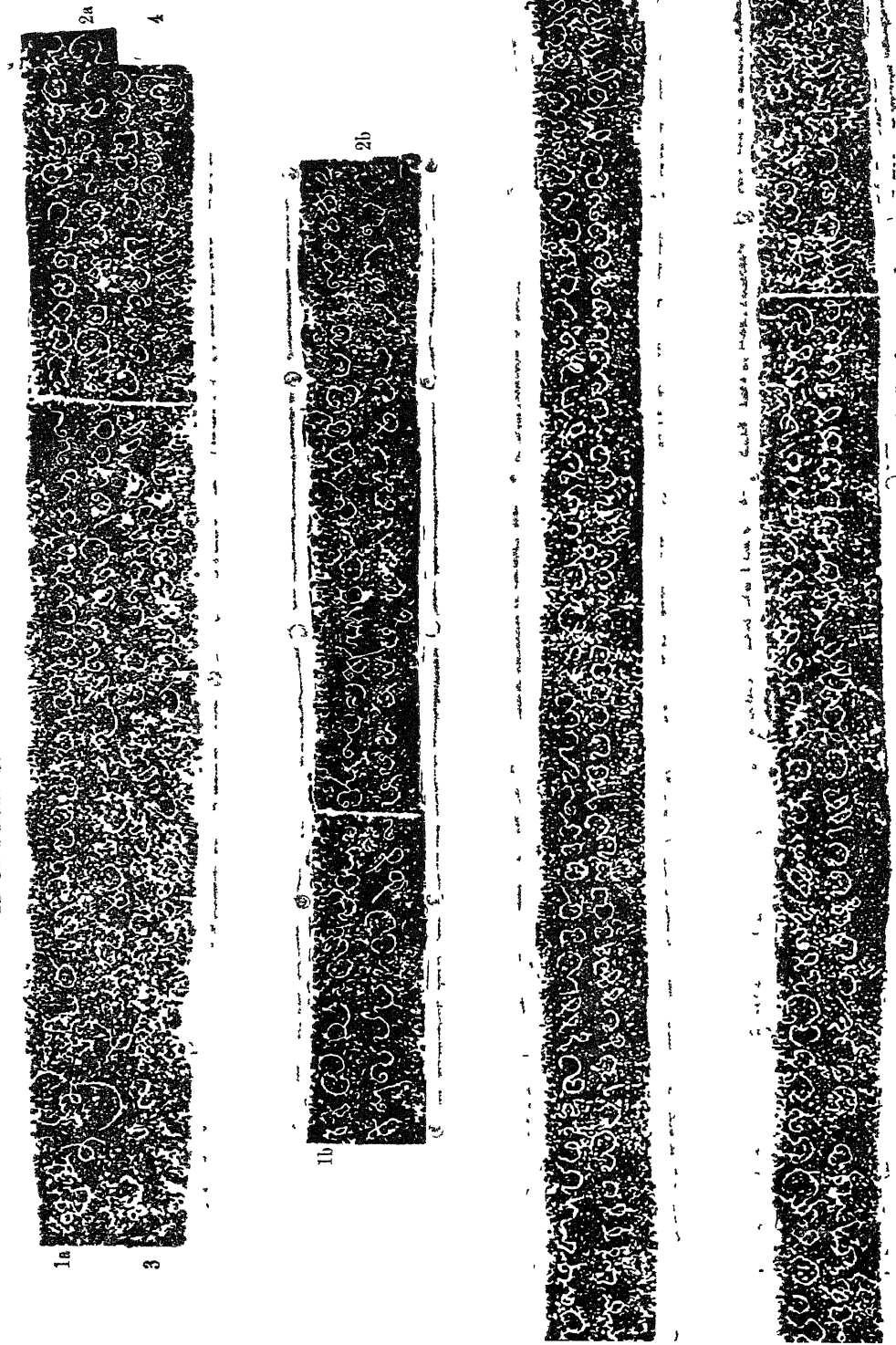
No. 56—Tirukkadittanam inscription of Bhaskara-Ravivarman.

The subjoined inscription from Tirukkadittānam is found engraved on the west and south walls of the central shrine in the Vishṇu temple of that village. As only a portion of its first line was published on page 33 of Volume II of the *Travancore Archaeological Series* with the remark that the record is incomplete, it had to be copied anew, and from the better impression thus secured the record is now edited.

It is in the Tamil language and in the Vatteluttu characters of the time of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman in whose 11th (2nd + 12th) year of reign it is dated. It registers that the *kōyiladhikāri* made a gift of the revenue in kind derivable from the village of Tirukkadittānam for feeding 24 brahmins in the temple, after deducting 12 *kalam*, which was set apart according to an earlier agreement for the payment of the impost to the ruler of the district. It is also stated that Gōvarddhana-Mārttāndavarman, who was the governor of Vēnādu, was given administrative control over Nanrulai-nādu also. As Tirukkadittānam, Peruneyil and Tiruvaṇvandūr are all mentioned to have been within the jurisdiction of the chief of that division, this district should have comprised the country lying between and possibly extending somewhat beyond these villages. Gōvarddhana also figures in the Cochin plate of Bhāskara-Ravi, 2nd + 36th year (*Ep. Ind.*, iii, 68).

The term *kōyiladhikāriḡal* was evidently the designation of an influential officer, next in importance only to the king himself whom he represented, and who had control over the subordinate rulers of districts and small principalities, such as

TRUKKADITTANAM RECORD OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN



Scale one-eighths.

'amanal'na Aggar

Vēnādu, Naprulanādu etc. Such an office of power and responsibility naturally have been bestowed on a member of the central authority, on the heir-apparent himself, whom this probation was calculated to put in proper preliminary administrative training. Thus we find Vijayanāḍadēva figuring as a *kōyiladhikārī* in the records of Sthānu-Ravi, whom he must have eventually succeeded, and a Kulaśekhara-chakravartin in a Quilon epigraph of Kollam 278. It is just possible that this office was synonymous with the other designation of *ilangūru-vālmunnaruliyyār*, by which was meant that of the *ilankō* or 'throne' who had under his administration the 'lesser' half of the *ilankō* (*ilankō-kūru*, *ilankūru*), and that these *kōyiladhikārīgāl* gradually lost some of their monopoly of influence, dwindling to the subordinate status of Devaswam Commissioners to control the affairs of several temples. The term seems to be almost a synonym of the word *talayādiri* of the *Kēraḷōḷpatti* and the *talayālvān* of inscriptions. The explanation has elsewhere¹ been offered that the office of *kōyiladhikārī* may have originated from the time when the *ilankō* chiefs whose services had been requisitioned by the brahmanical rulers of Kēraḷa for the proper conduct of administrative business and for the preservation of the public peace, were originally placed in charge of the temple demesne by the *Sarikētāms* or (religious corporations), which had developed round the living nuclei of temples and that these officers may have gradually monopolised much of the power from the hands of these assemblies over which they presided. Or it may be that they were put in charge of the palace management also (*kōyil*=palace) to deserve that designation. That some *kōyiladhikārīgāl* in their subordinate status were not necessarily members of the royal house, but were often also their agents and subordinates, is to be evident from the fact that an inscription² of the time of Bhaskara-Ravivarma from Perumeyil mentions two individuals Ravi-Kannu of Vellūr and Kumara-Nārāyaṇan of Kāḷamūṅṅin as the *kōyiladhikārīgāl* and the interpretation making them to be mere engravers of the record on stone does not seem to be correct.

The peculiarities of the language of the document are not many except that the usual dialectical forms, such as, *amachchu*, *vālnnu* and *kaḷaṇṇu* are used in place of *amaittu*, *vālndu*, and *kaḷaṇṇu*.

Text.³

1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [11*] தெர்ப் பாககரணிவிவாமா திருவடிகுச் செல்லாநின்ற
பாண ஓரண்டாமாணடைக கெதிர் பந்திராமாண்டு வெண்டுடைப
4கொவாதனம மராததானட[னை] அகமச்சு நன றுழைநாடு வாழ்நது
திருக்கடித்தானத்தால நாட்டினுக்கு ஆட்டுகொளநம உடமடா
ட்டால வாழ்க்கை ஆக [பாட்ட]⁵ இடங்கழியால பந்திரு கலந நெல
ஆட்டைக்கொளாக அ[ை]மச்சு மிக்கது அட்டி கொடுத்தது அது

1 *Madabar Quarterly Review*, Vol VIII, p 116

2 *Tamil Arch. Surv.*, Vol II, p 44

3 Registered as No. 18 of the Trav. Epig Colln for 1097 M. S. (No 94 of 1086)

4 Canceled

5 The reading is tentative

- 2 கொண்டு இருபத்துநாலு கல மக்கிர மமச்சருளிநா கொவிலதிகாரிகள்
[11'] இப்பந்திருகலமும் நாடுவாழும்வாக்கு ஊரும் பொதுவாளுங் கூ
டிக கொடுக்கடவியா [11*] திருவக்கிரத்தினு விரோதம் பண்ணி மு
டடிக்கு மிடையிடன கொயிலதகாரிகளக்கு இருபத்தை(ம)ங் கதை
ஞ்ஞ பொன்னு நாடுவாழும்வாக்கு பந்திருகதைஞ்ஞ அஞ்ச காண
மு வாழ்க்கை வாழும்வாக்கு அறுக-
- 3 கைஞ்ஞ இரண்டரைக காணமும் ஆடைக்கொள்[வா]ரக்கும் பொ
ன்னுங் கூடத் தண்டம்
- 4 படக்கடவியன் [11*] பாடுதாங்குமவது மித்தண்டம் படக்கடவியன் ஸ்ரீ
[11*]

Translation

Hail! Prosperity!

While the 12th year opposite the second year (of the reign) of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman Tiruvadī was current, the Kōyiladhikāriḡal after having appointed Gōvarddhana-Mārttāndan who was governing Vēnādu, to administer Nannulai-nādu (also), and after having apportioned twelve *kalam* of paddy as the (*āttakkol*) yearly payment from (the village of) Tirukkadittānam according to agreement towards the impost (*vālkai*-tax) due to the *nūlu*, made a gift of the balance; and with this he was pleased to make provision (in the temple) for twenty-four plates of food (i e., for feeding twenty-four persons)

The *ūr* and *poduvāl* shall together give this twelve *kalam* (of paddy) to the governor of the district (*nādu-vālvaman*)

The *idavūdan* who does injury to this feeding and stops it, shall pay a fine of twenty-five *kalaṅgu* of gold to the Kōyiladhikāriḡal, twelve *kalaṅgu* and five *kānam* to the ruler of the District, six *kalaṅgu* and two and a half *kānam* to the officer (*vālkavālvamarar*) in immediate charge (of the village), and (one) *paṇṇ* to the collector of the annual impost

He who abets (the above person at default) shall also be liable to the same fine. Śīl'

No. 57—Record of Bhaskara-Ravivarman: 2nd + 24th year.

The present record is also from the same Vishnu temple at Tirukkadittānam and is found engraved in Vatteluttu on the south base of the central shrine. As the first two lines only of this inscription were published on page 40 of Vol II of the *Trav. Archl Series*, it had to be copied afresh, before a complete transcript could be prepared

The record is dated in the 24th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, when Gōvarddhana-Mārttānavarman who was the governor of Vēnādu was administering Nannulai-nādu as well. From the inscription published above, it is learnt that the latter district was added to the administrative jurisdiction of Gōvarddhana-Mārttānda about twelve years previously,

in the 12th year opposite the 2nd year of reign of the same suzerain, Bhāskara-Ravivarman. From this, and from the Cochin plate it follows that Venādu was ruled by Gōvarddhana-Mārttāndavarman at least between Kollam 167 and 191

The epigraph states that the *parishad*, the *gana* and the *poduvāl* of the temple at Trukkadittānam met together and ordered that the holdings of the drummers (*kottiyāl*) shall not be taken up for cultivation or on mortgage by the *kōyiludaryār*, the supervisors of the temple, and that those who transgress this condition shall be punished by fines payable to the governor of the district and to the village chief.

The last sentence which states that the record was engraved at the instance of the *wachchārs* or drummers shows that they had a grievance, as their holdings apparently been taken up by those in authority to their own disadvantage, and that they appear to have made their position secure by this restriction

Text.

- 1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [1¹] கொட்டாறகரணீரவிவாமமா திருவடிகஞ்ச செலலாநின்ற
யாணடி யாணடினெந்நா இருபத்துநாலாமாண்டு வெணாடுடைய கொவா
தநாண்ட [1, 2] தாண்டன நனறுமுநாடுவாழ்த [திருக்கடி] ததானத்து
- 2 பரிடையுங் கணநதாரும பொதுவாளமாரு[ம*] நனறுமுநா[ட*]டு முந
நாறுவரும் பணி செய்கின்ற நெடுமுழத்தது குன்றங் கொவிரதனும
[1, 2] மனறுத திரவியிபாமனுங் கூடி . . . கச்சமாவிது [11*] திரு
ககடி, தநாண்ட, தநா
- 3 திருக்கொயிலுடை யாருங் கொட்டிகளுடைய விருத்தி ஒற்றி கொள்ளவும்
அவை யுழவு உழவும் பெறா [1*] ஊராளரும் இடையிடரும் பொது
ஆளுநர் ஒற்றிக்கொள[ளுமவன்] . யுமவன் நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கு இ-
- 4 நூபுத்து நாடுகருமைநெய் வாழ்க்கை உடையவர்க்கு பந்திருக்கைநு பொ-
ளவந் தண்டப்படுவிது [1*] அவனகு பாடுதாங்குமவனும இததண்ட
மெ படுவிது [1¹] பணிமானிடம் ஒற்றி . . . இடையிடு கூடி
யிரு கூடி . . . கரு வாதிச-
- 5 கொரகரு மழவடுநது கொள்ககடவா [1*] அது விலகமவர்த்ரும இ
ததண்டமெ படுவிது [1*] பணி மானிடத்தைப் புள்ளிகிழ மைஞ
வண்ணமெ கணநதாருந் சாநதி செய்யுமவரளுங் கண்டுகொளவிது
[1*] உவசசுகள்
- 6 எழுதிது [11*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the twenty-fourth year opposite to the second year which was current (in the reign) of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman Tiruvadi when Gōvarddhana-Mārttāndan of Venādu was also administering Nannulai-nādu, the *parishad*, the *gana*

and the *poduvāl* of Tirukkadittānam, the 'three-hundred' of Nāṇṇolai-nādu and the (temple) servants Kumār-Gōvīdan of Nedumpunam and Ravi-Rāman of . . . having met, passed the following resolution —

The trustees of the temple (*tirukkoṭṭai-udaiyār*) at Tirukkadittānam shall not take on mortgage or for cultivation lands belonging to the drummers (*kottikāl*). The *ūrālar*, *idaiyādar* and *poduvāl* shall not (also) take them on mortgage

Such of the *ūrālar* or *idaiyādar* as take (these holdings) on mortgage shall be liable to a fine of twenty-four *kalaiṇṇu* of gold to the governor of the district, and twelve *kalaiṇṇu* to the officer in immediate charge (of the village). He that supports him (the transgressor) shall be subject to the same fine

. shall take the cultivation. He who obstructs this shall be liable to the same penalty. The *yana* (members) and those who perform the *śānti* (worship) shall supervise the servants in the stipulated manner.

This was written by the drummers (*uvachchar*)

No. 58—Another record for Tirukkadittānam.

This inscription which is engraved on the south base of the same Vishnu temple at Tirukkadittānam registers the gift of certain fields which Dēvaṇ-Rāman of Muttūru made for providing certain offerings to the god (*bhālārār*) at Tirukkadittānam. The Vatteluttu characters of the record approximate to the date of Bhāskara-Ravivarma.

Muttūru, the village from which the donor hailed is in the Tiruvalla taluk and has been referred to in the *Uṇṇunīisandēśam* in the following lines:

முத்துரிலுள்ளிருந்த புத்தூர் பிள்ளிபுத்தூர் மூலம்

முத்தூர் தபம் விரிவாசு நவீன நாகோகிசு கெட்க. v. 125.

Text.¹

- 1 முதலாறு தெவனிராமன் திருக்கடத்தானத்து பழார்க்கு நாநாழி அரி திருவமி-
- 2 ாது உச்சையகத்து பந்திரகரு செலவான அமைச்ச பூமி [1*] கண்ணை கரி தெகியவும் எடை-
- 3 யம்புரைபிடமு மொழியா வாழ்க்கையும் மன்னவெலியு மணலொடியுமினி றறில[ப]பாதி [11*]

Translation.

The lands which Dēvaṇ-Rāman of Muttūru set apart for providing sacred offerings of four *nāl* of rice at twelve-feet time before midday to the god (*bhālārār*) of Tirukkadittānam are the following —the whole of Kannaṅkari, and half of the lands (called) Edaiyaṇ-purayidam, Mohiyar-vāḷkkaṇ, Maṇṇa-vēli, and Maṇalōdi

No. 59.—Tirukkadittanam Inscription.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Vishnu temple at Tirukkadittānam. It is in the Vatteluttu alphabet and the Tamil language, and registers the gift of the land called Nelvādī-kādu by Kandān-Kumaraṇ *alias* Māluvakkōṇ of Kīlūmalai for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tirukkudittānam. The recipients of the gift were the members of the village assembly and the *poduvāl*, who, it is said, in company with 'the three-hundred' of Namulai-nādu and 'the six-hundred' of Kīlūmalai, made it over to Iyakkān-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkūlam, stipulating that he shall enjoy the right of cultivation and give in return, on the day of Rōhinī in the month of Kumbha, either 12 *kalam* of paddy in kind (as measured) by the *idāṅgali*, or 6 *kalaṅṇu* of pure gold.

Kīlūmalai-nādu was the name of the tract of land in the north-eastern corner of the State lying at the foot of the Western Ghats, and represented by the modern taluks of Devikulam, Todupula and a portion of Muvattupula. The capital of this independent principality was Kāṇikkōḍu near Todupula and it continued to retain its autonomy even as late as Kollam 754.¹ It may have been absorbed into the greater division of Vaḍakkunkūru in about the end of the 16th century A. D. as it has been recorded by the Portuguese chronicler Gouvea that the Rāṇ of Vaḍakkunkūru adopted the Rāja of Todupula, on failure of issue. Kōḍikkūlam is also a village in the Karmannūr pagudi of the Todupula taluk.

The inscription is dated on the day of Tiruvōnam falling on a Monday in the month of Kumbha of the year in which Jupiter was in Rishabha. The same individual Māluvakkōṇ made a gift in favour of the Vishnu temple of Tiruvalla on the day of Viśākha corresponding to a Wednesday in the month of Makara, when Jupiter was in Tula, for sounding the five great sounds or the *pañcamaḥa-sabda*. In it also, Iyakkān-Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkūlam figures. As such, the date of the subjoined inscription may be seven years after or five years before that of the gift recorded in the Tiruvalla copper-plates. To judge from the characters, the record seems to belong to the end of the 11th century A. D.

The expression 'சூடுமுறைபும வருவிது அறுகழைஞ்ஞ பொன்' in line 6 may be compared with 'ஆட்டுவெட்டிச சூடுக்கு தந்த காச்சாற்றி கைசெலவது கழஞ்சிற் போதத் துளைப்பொன் உரைபும துளையும் வழுவாதது' occurring in an inscription of Rājārāja I (No. 218 of 1911), where the genuineness of the gold currency was tested by the fineness of the gold and the punch-mark (*tula*), which was presumably stamped on the discs by order of the issuing government. The word '*valuvādadu*', which prescribed that the fineness of gold should not be found to be wanting, is

1 Vide *Bhāṣāpāṭha* for 1096, p. 15

எழுஞ்ஞ அகடு கொல்லுமெழுநூலுந்
 அருவிசெயின திணை மென வுயிர்
 அரு மனிகளே டிசினுநுருவென
 அருவினென தரு சூழிசெயினிவிச
 அருவரு ராஜமனிகளெவிரு கிழ்வெவ்வாழ்கோபி
 அருவருவெவ் கருதனமெனிக் கருதி வருணி மெனென

here expressed by the positive word *varuvadu*, 'which possessed the necessary fineness and carat'.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [||*] இடபத்துள வியாழந் தீர்க் குமப ஞாயிறறு திங்ஙளாண்ட திருவொணத்தின் னுள திருக்கடித்தானத்துப் பட்டார[ா*]க்கு கிழுமலைபுடைய² கண்டங் குமரனாய மாளுவக்கொன் நநதாவிளக கமைச்சான் [||*] இந் நநதாவிளககி-
- 2 னு தன்னுடை நெலவாதினகாடாகினற செரிககல [க]ரையும் வயலுற காட் னுள்ளொடுங்க இதினுபடும தெலலாங் கூட அடிகுகொடுத தான் கிழுமலைபுடைய கண்டங் குமரனாய மாளுவக்கொன் [||*] நெலவாதினகினற செரிககல திருக்கடித்தானத்-
- 3 தூரும் பொதுவாளமாருங் கிழுமலை அறு³ தூறுவரையு நனறுழைநாட்டு முந் தூறுவரையும் பணியுடைய[ர]சனைய முளவைச்ச கொடிகுகளமுடைய இயக்கங் கொவிநனுக்கு காரணமை அட்டிக் கொடுத்தார ஊரும் பொதுவாளமாரும [||*] இத்திருவிளக்கு இச்செரிககல லா[ரு]ம
- 4 [கிழுமலை] அறுதூறுவரு நனறுழைநாட்டு முந் தூறுவரு பணியுடைய[ர]களு[ம*] பொதுவாளமாரு[ம*] இதினுக்கு வருங் குறைவு குற்ற முண்டாகில் விடடிச்செலுத்திக்கக் கடவியா [||*] இவவிளக்கு கிழுருவிரடையொடு [கூ]-
- 5 டச செலுத்தக் கடவியா [||*] விளக்கு முட்டிக் குமவா கச்சதிலப்பட்ட தண்டமெப் படக்கவியா [||*] கொடிகுகளத்து இயக்கங் கொவிநந[ன்*] ஓராண்டு முடிகில் முட்டாடி செலுத்தக் கடவியன [||*] விளககினு குமப ஞா-
- 6 மிற்று உரொயணி நாள் பொதுவாளமா கையில் நெல்க் கொடுக்கி விடங் ழுழியால்ப் பநநிரு கலங் கொடுப்பிது [||*] பொன் கொடுகுகில் குடுமுறையும் வருவிது⁴ அறு கழைஞ்ஞ நிறைப பொன் கொடுப்பிது [||*] இயக்கன் கொவிநந
- 7 உடைபாடியான கண்டனிர[வி]⁵

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

On the day of Tiruvōṇam, which fell on a Monday in the month of Kumbha of the year in which Jupiter stood in Rishabha, Kandan-Kumaran *alias* Māḷuvakkōṇ of Kīḷumalai, supplied a perpetual lamp to (the temple of) the god at Tirukkadittāṇam. For this perpetual lamp, Kandan-Kumaran *alias* Māḷuvakkōṇ

1 Registered as No. 88 of 1086 and No 17 of the Trav Epig. Colln

2 y is entered below the line.

3 Perhaps காடு முள்ளொடுங்க.

4 The syllables தூறு are entered below the line, a mark being made after அறு.

5 The word occurs elsewhere as வருவாதது; although வருவிது may also be taken as meaning, 'that possesses the necessary fineness', and occurs as such in 7 384 of the Tiruvalla plates (T A S, Vol II, p 191)

6 The records stops here

of Kīlūmalai gave with libation (of water) his land known as Nelvāḍi-kāḍu, inclusive of gardens, wet, and forest lands along with all the appurtenances

The *ārār* and *poduvālmā*¹ of Tirukkadittānam, in the presence of 'the six-hundred' of Kīlūmalai, the 'three-hundred' of Nanrulai-nādu and the servants, gave the land called Nelvāḍi as a *kārānmai* to Iyakkan-Gōvindaṉ of Kōḍikkalam

The *ārār* of this Śeṭṭikkal, 'the six-hundred' of Kīlūmalai, 'the three-hundred' of Nanrulai-nādu, the servants and the *poduvālmā* shall, in case of any deficiency or default arising, make that good and see to the maintenance of the lamp. They shall have this lamp maintained along with the expenses of the temple.

Those who cause any impediment to (the burning of) this lamp, shall be liable to the fine fixed in this agreement. If Iyakkan-Gōvindaṉ of Kōḍikkalam causes default in any one year, he shall have to pay double the quantity at default

In making payment on the day of Rōhmi in the month Kumbha into the hands of the *poduvāl*, if it is in paddy, twelve *kalam* as measured by the *iḍaṅṅāl* shall be given, and if gold is paid, six *kalaṅṅu* in weight of gold having the proper carat and fineness shall be given. Iyakkan-Gōvindaṉ, Udayāradyāṉ Kandaṉ-Ravi.

No. 60.—Two sculptured panels at Tirukkadittanam.

Nāṭya-śāstra, or the art of dancing and acting was developed in great elaboration by Bharataṁmuni in his *Bharataśāstra* of about the 3rd or the 4th century A. D.; but as it was itself probably based on the earlier Nāṭyaśāstras of Śilālu and Kṛiśāśva,² which have been referred to by and must therefore have lived before the great grammarian Pāṇini, the age of the Dancing Art of Aryan India, as a science, mounts up to very high antiquity. The Tāmīṇ branch of this art, although it followed its Aryan sister in certain particulars and copied several of the technical terms relating to that science in later times, must have had, however, an antiquity equally great and also maintained a distinct individuality in this, as in many other branches of culture; for, we find here several varieties of dances peculiar to her own independent civilisation, which are absent in the Sanskrit treatises. In the *Araṅgēṇṇukāḍai* and the *Kadalāḍukāḍai*, the third and sixth chapters of the *Puṇār-kāṇḍam*, the first book of *Śilappadigāram*⁴, reference is made to several of the varieties of dances in vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the learned commentator Adiyārkkunallār (c. 1200 A. D.) has taken this opportunity to insert, with copious quotations from some rare Tāmīl works, such as *Agattiyaṁ*, *Seṅṅirriyaṁ*, *Jayantam*, *Gūṇanāl*, *Nāṭaka-tamīl-nāl* of Mativāṇa etc., a fairly detailed account on the characteristics, significance, utility etc. of the the various kinds of Dances, whether purely pantomimic or accompanied by

1 The phrase 'ஊரும பொதுவானமும்' is repeated in the text

2 This paper appeared in the *Mythic Society's Journal* for April 1924

3 *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XII, page 157

4 *Śilappadigāram*, page 80

music, both vocal and instrumental, the principal representatives of the latter being the *yāl* and the *kūḷal*

Kūttus or Dances were primarily divided into several pairs of sub-divisions consistent with their character, and one such classification was the *Śāntikkūttu* and the *Vinōdakkūttu*. The former is the collective name of four kinds¹ of Dances which were indulged in by the hero or the dancer in a mood of reposeful enjoyment and as a means of aesthetic recreation, while the *Vinōdakkūttu* which had to appeal to the masses was mostly of a spectacular than an intellectual kind and was subdivided into the six varieties. *Kuravai*, *Kilīnutam*, *Kūḍakkūttu*, *Karanam*, *Nōkku* and *Tōrpāvai* with the optional inclusion of the *Vilāḍakkūttu* or sometimes of the *Veriyāttu* as the seventh. Of these, *Kūḍakkūttu* was also one of the eleven varieties (according to another grouping) danced by the *dēvas* in their fight with their born enemies the *asuras*, which are numerated in the following stanza —

‘கடையமழி ராணிமரக கால்விநதை கந்தன
குடைதுடி மா லலவியமல குமபஞ் சுடா விழியாற
பட்டமதன் பேடுதிருப பாவையான பாண்டரங்கு
கொட்டியிவை காண்பதினோ கூதது’.

These again were classified into two groups of six and five each according to the posture of dancing, either standing or otherwise:—

‘ஆலவியங் கொட்டி குடைகுடம் பாண்டரங்கு
மலலுட னின்றாட லாறு’

and ‘துடிசுடைபம்பேடு மரககாலே பாலை
வடிவுடன் விழநதாட லைது’.

Of these, we shall take up for consideration only the two varieties *Kūḍai* and *Kūḍam*, which are described in the following lines of the *Kāḍaladukūḍai* as having been played on two special occasions

‘படைவீழத் தவுணா பையு னெயதக
குடை வீழத் தவாழு னுடிய குடை||ம,
வாணன் பேரூர் மறுகிடை நடநது
நீணில மனநதோ னுடிய குடமும’ (ll. 52-45).

In his commentary on these lines, Adiyārkkunallār says that god Subrahmanya⁴ after having slain the demon Śūrapadmāsura, who had concealed himself in the ocean, danced his war-dance of triumph on the heaving wave-platform of the oceanic stage to the accompaniment of the rattle of his drum (*tudū*), and that at a later stage, when all the other remaining Rākshasas threw down their weapons in despair

1 namely, *Solkam*, *Meylūttu*, *Aṇṇayam* and *Nūṭakam*.

2 எழுவகைக கூத்து மிகுலத தோரை, யாட வகுததண்கத்தியன குணே

—page 81.

3 *Śīlappadigāram*, page 89

4 ————— மாககட னடுவ-

னீர்ததிரை யரங்கத்து நிகாத்து முன்னினறு

ஞாததிறு கடநதோ னுடிய துடியும்—

Compare also சேடனுக்கச்சண்டாளரககாஞ்சு

மானவிட்டுஞன டேழலைக்கடலகன

சேதவறநின் றுடிவிறகமீ ரறுதோன மேற

ll. 49 to 51 of *Kāḍaladukūḍai*

and fled the field before the war-lord's impetuous onslaught, Subrahmanya screened his face with a parasol and played in exultant derision the *Kudakküttu* or the Umbrella-dance. These are the two¹ varieties of dances mentioned as peculiar to this god, and it is noticeable that both of them are of Tamilan origin and do not find corresponding equivalents in the sub-divisions described in the Sanskrit *Nāṭya-śāstras*. Muruga (the Tamil synonym of Kumāra) is more popular in Tamilan South India than in the Aryan north, where his worship is not so much favoured;² and we find him given an equal status with Vishnu and Śiva in early Tamil literature. He was the tutelary³ deity of the *kurinjīnila-mākkal* or hill-men in whose routine of worship *tudi* (drum)⁴ was the chief musical accompaniment and *Veriyāttu*, a kind of wild spirit-possessed dance, formed an important feature. *Tirumurugārruppaḍai* the first poem in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* is in praise of this god Murugaṇ and is considered so sacred as to be utilised by the devout 'Murugites' for their daily recitation (*pārāyanam*), while as many as eight pieces out of the twenty-four in the available *Parpādal* are exclusively dedicated to the glorification of Śevvāl (Subrahmanya). These *Kudakküttus* are now sometimes performed during temple processions when the god's umbrella-bearer cuts some capers with his unwieldy parasol; but the *Kāvadikküttu* is a greater favourite in these days in Murugaṇ's worship and festivities.

The second variety called the *Kudakküttu* is another dance peculiar to the Tamil genius, and we do not find its counter-part in the premier Sanskrit treatises on the art of Dancing. Its origin has to be traced to the purely pastoral pursuits of its votaries, the shepherds, who eventually came to consider it as one of the three favourite dances of god Vishṇu in his special manifestation as Gōpāla, the Divine Shepherd'. In the Saṅgam works, but more frequently in the impassioned utterances⁶ of the Vaishnava-ālvārs, reference is made to the partiality of Krishna to this kind of dance. One such instance is in a verse⁷ of Periyālvār's *Tirumoli*, where its learned commentator has attempted to trace the origin of this kind of pastoral dance as follows:—

- 1 குடையோடு தடியிரண்டும் குமரனதாடலாமே
அறுமுகத்தோடு ஓடல குடை and தடியாடல வேனமுருககுடல — *Chudāmaṇi*
- 2 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, page 415 — *Tollappayam* (*Aha* s 5)
- 3 ஂயோன மெய்காடுரை யுலகமும் — *Chudāmaṇi*
- 4 தொண்டகமுருகியம் போரத்தடி குறுஞ்சிபபறைபோ — *Tollappayam*.
- 5 மாயோன மெய்காடுரை யுலகமும்
குன்றெடுத்த ஆநிறை காத்த பிரான, கோவலஞ்சை குழனுதிழி,
சுன்றுகன மெய்த்துத் தன் தோழரோடு, கலந்தாடன வருவானே — *Periyālvār Tirumoli*.
இடவலகுடவலகோவல காவல — *Parpāḍai* 3-ம் பத்த, l 43.
குடத்தாடல குன்றெடுத்தோடாடல — *Silap*, page 89.
எ-ந திருமொழி.
— காசியார் திருமொழி.
- 6 குடங் கலந்தாடிக் குரவைமுன்கோத்த சுத்த
குடமாடு சுத்தன்ன கோவிந்தன
குடமாடிக் கோவலஞ்சை மேவி என்னெஞ்சம் — *இயற்பா*, 2-ம் திருவி, பத். 98.
இடமாகக் கொண்டிறை
குடமாடி இமமண்ணும விண்ணும குறுங்கு உலகனந்து — *இயற்பா*, திருவி, பா 38.
நடமாடிய பெருமான — *திருவெங்கடமாலை*, 48.
குடமாடல வாயநத பரத்த துவத்தான — *உ-மபத்தி*, எ-ம திருமொழி.
- 7 குடங்களுஞ் தேறவிட்டுக் கூத்தாடவல்ல அங்கோவே

"As brahmans perform sacrifices in days of plenty, so too do shepherds in prosperous times give vent to their exuberance of joy in improvising the *Kudakkūttu* or the Pot-Dance"—a recreation that would naturally have suggested itself to a class of men whose wealth was wooed, so to say, out of the cornucopia of their milk and butter-pots. "The dancer balances a tier of pots on his head and a few more on his shoulders and throwing up some in the air, catches them as they fall in succession" (thus keeping up a continuous line of pots going round in the same manner as the game of *ammānai* is being played by little girls). "The pots are either common earthen ones or are made of an amalgam of five metals (*pañchalōham*)". Lord Krishna as the prince of all shepherds (*āyarkōn*), was therefore the hero-elect of these pastoral performances, more particularly of the *Kuravakkūttu*, (Skt. *Rāsakrīdā*), the idyllic dance played in the moonlit lawns of Brindāvana to the entrancing accompaniment of his own divine flute, the musical instrument typical of *mullai-nīlam*. The *Kudakkūttu* is popular even today in the form *Karakamāttam* connected with the worship of Kāli, in the *Uṇṇiyāḍi* festival commemorating the sports of the infant Krishna and in the street acrobats' performances.

But the authors of the *Śilappadigāram* and its commentary mention also a different occasion on which this Pot-Dance was played, viz, that of the defeat of Bānāsura in his own capital of Śōṇitapura (Śōṇagaram). Anuruddha, the son and grandson respectively of Pradyumna and Krishna, made love on the sly to Ushā the beautiful daughter of Bāna, and was forthwith imprisoned by the irate father in his invincible fire-girt castle. But Krishna², despite the spirited opposition of Śiva, Subrahmanya, Ganēśa and all the goblin hordes, entered the city, defeated Bāna and would have slain him outright, but for the timely pleading of Śiva and the asura-king's agreement to publicly celebrate the marriage of his daughter with her secretive lover. This was the occasion when Krishna signalled his triumph by a frolicsome spell of his favourite Pot-Dance. Two other varieties³ attributed to him are the *alliyam* and the *mallu* which he indulged in on the occasions respectively of killing the elephant-emissary of Kamsa and Kamsa himself. Krishna had in his eventful life in the Āyarchēri several other opportunities for dancing; he danced his petulant and jubilant dances when butter and curds⁴ were denied or given him and danced again on the five-headed serpent Kāliya, who was fouling the Yamunā's waters⁵.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the *Bālarāma-bhārata* work on the Dancing Art composed by the royal author Bālarāma-varma-Kulaśekhara (1758-98) the Mahārāja of Travancore mentions Shanmukha (Subrahmanya) and Krishna among the *bharata-pradhāna-purushas*, or important divinities intimately connected with the Dance

1 தொடுத்தகை கோத்தாடற்போ சொல்லிய குரவையெனப்

— *Chudāman*

This dance has been described in the Āyachōṇyār-Kurava in *Śilappadigāram*

2 Compare the following description

மோடியோடவங்கிவெடபு மங்கியோடவைங்குரன்

முடுகியோட முருகனோட முககனிசன் மககனித

தேடியோடவாணனாயிரம் புயங்குள் குறுநீர்

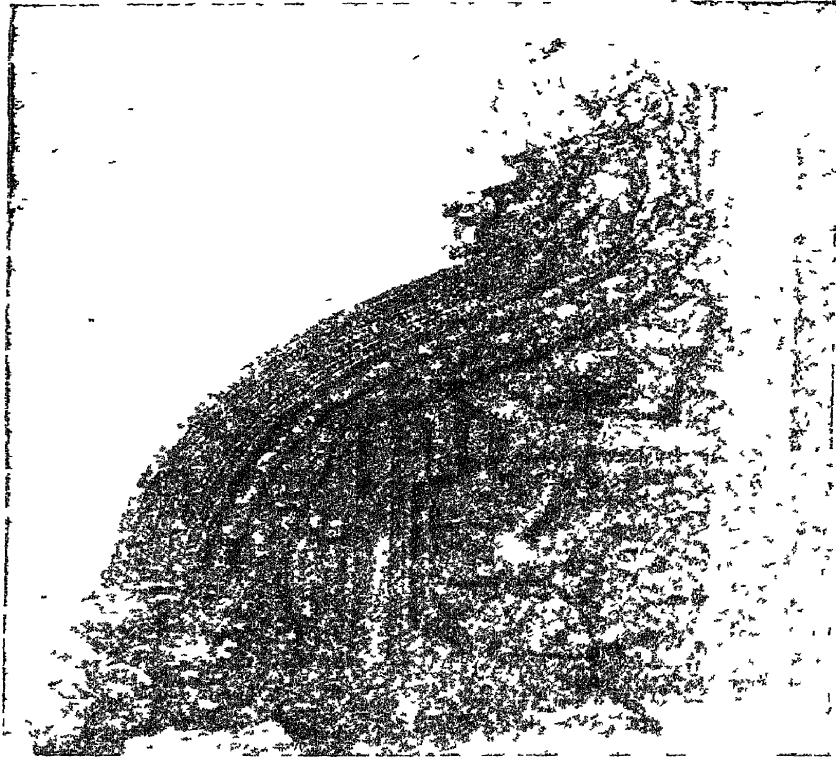
சுந்தியோட நேமிதொட்ட திருவரங்கராசேர

— திருவரங்கக் கல்மடபகம், 39.

3 குடமல லேயலவியநதான் கொண்டலவண்ணன்தன் கூத்து

— *Chudāman*.

TWO SCULPTURED PANELS AT TIRUKKADITTANAM.



The reason why the two varieties called the *Kudarkkūttu* and the *Kudarkūttu* have been detailed above is because the sculptured figures on the two *vāli*-panels flanking the entrance into the *sanctum* of the Adbhuta-Nārāyaṇa temple at Tirukkadittānam (Chenganachery taluk) may be taken to represent these two types of dances. The sculptures seem to belong to the beginning of the 11th century, and may therefore be contemporaneous with the few records of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarmān (c. A. D. 1000) found engraved on the base of the circular *adhishthāna* of the *garbhagriha* of the temple. The *Kudarkkūttu* panel is a good piece of workmanship and represents the dancer as exhibiting his skill on the dais of a covered *mandapa*, (the *Rāṅyamandapa* or the *Kūttumbalam* of temples?), while an attendant standing to his left holds an umbrella aloft, its duplicate being held perhaps by the dancer himself, although this detail is not quite clear in the sculpture. Two other attendants provide the musical accompaniment consisting of the inevitable *mṛdaṅgam* and a pair of cymbals. A flock of five *hamsas*, looking more like ducklings than royal swans, is seen sunning itself on the roof of the *mandapa* and adds to the picturesqueness of the composition.

The other panel" representation of *Kudakkuttu* is also from the chisel of the same sculptor, as is evident from the general style of its work and the recurrence of the same details as in the other piece. The posture of the dancer is, if anything, more vivacious and the attendants are figured with a more expressive touch of realism: witness the agile bend of the dancer's body and the watchful pose of his head. The dancer's head is dressed up in the *karanda-makuta* or the *dhammilla* style popular in representations of Krishna and the absence of the tier of pots has to be accounted for by limitations of space. Two pots each are enjoying doubtful equilibrium on the extended left and bent right arms of the dancer, while three or four pots are seen dangling in space thrown up in the quick volutions of his rhythmic movements to be caught up as they fall and thrown up again in succession.

Such are the two dances delineated in the 'accompanying illustration' and their importance, if any, lies in the fact that they represent varieties of the ancient Tamil dances, some of which at least were the independent product of the distinctive culture of the early Tamils and are still enjoying a fugitive existence, though in somewhat altered forms, in Kēraḷa, the unrifled 'Old Curiosity Shop' of early customs and institutions.

No. 61—Record of Bhaskara-Ravivarman: 2+ . . year.

The subjoined record of Bhāskara-Ravivarman is found engraved on the upper face of the narrow *upānā* (lowermost stone-member) of the base of the central shrine of the Adbhutānāḥavāra temple at Tirukkāṭṭanam, which contains many

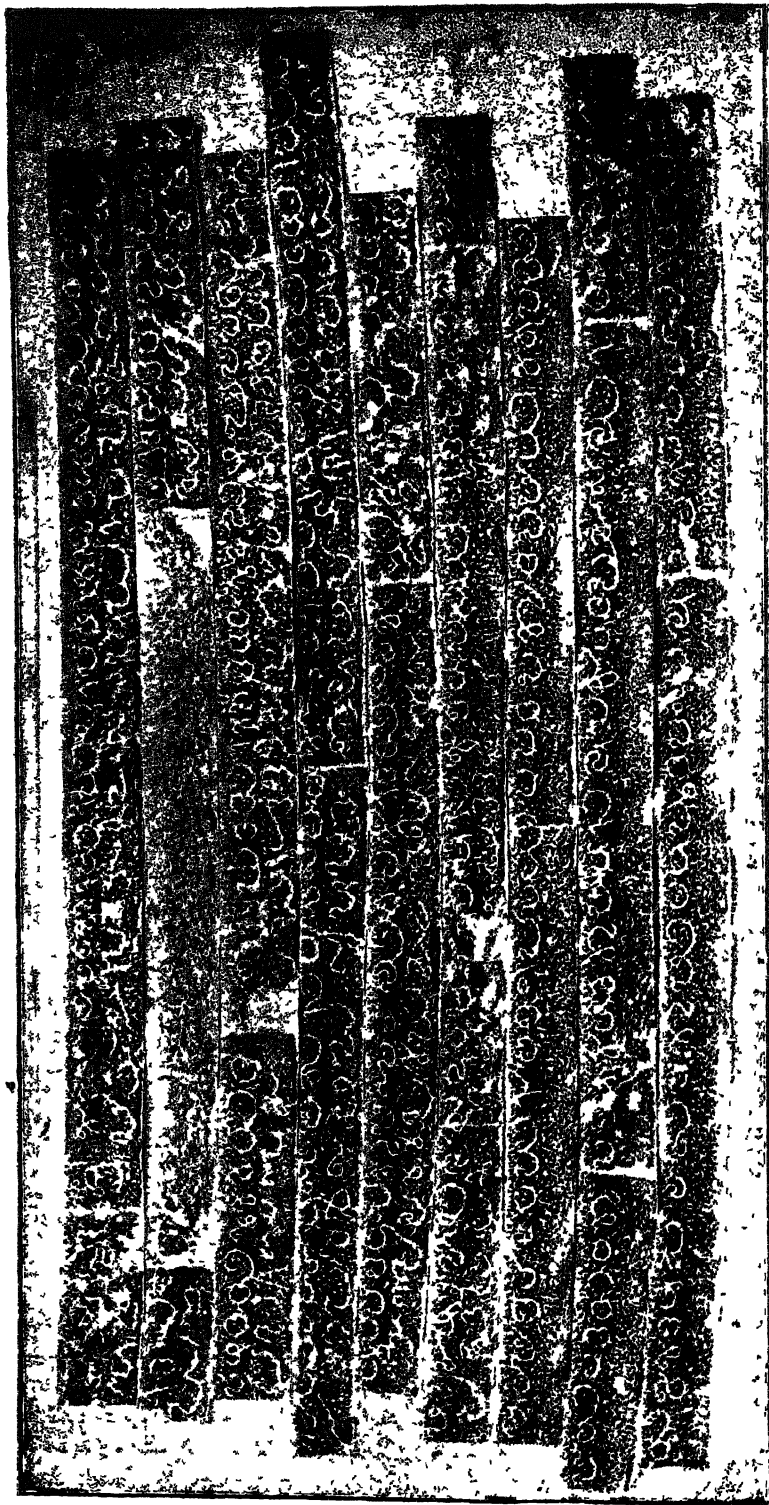
- 4 Compare the title of வெண்ணெய்க்கூத்தன்.

—Tiruvēṇkātāmālai.

5. பையரவின் சூட்டிற்கு அம்மம், நாட்டிற்கு அச்சேடி
கானகமாமடுவிற லுமி அச்சேடினே நாயநடம்பயிலும் சுந்தர-

- 6 It is perhaps a happy coincidence that the temple contains a sculptural representation of the *Kūḍal-kutū*, while Nannūlvaṇ has described the god of this place as verse 5.
வைகுந்தம், (குந்தம்) - கு-கூ-தத அம்மானே.

No 61—TIRUKKADITTANAM RECORD OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN 2ND+ . 5 YEAR.



A. S. Ramaratha Ayyar

Scale One-sevenths

the period of Gōvardhana-Mārttānda's reign as a *Vēṇādu* viceroy may approximately be fixed to be from A. D. 992 to at least 1016

The importance of this epigraph for purposes of fixing Chēra chronology cannot be overestimated, and the interesting triple synchronism that it establishes, namely, of the contemporaneity of Bhāskara-Ravi, Śrīvallabhan-Kōḍai and Gōvardhana-Mārttāndavarman is of very great value. It silences once for all the attempts that have recently been made to antedate Bhāskara-Ravi back to the 6th century A. D.¹ As regards the possibility of there being two kings of the same name of Bhāskara-Ravi, which is indicated by the variations in the position of Jupiter in the several records, that question requires special examination.

Text.²

1 வல்லி மீ [1³] கொச்சிரி பாற்ககரனிரவிவாமமாக்குச் செவலாநின்ற யா-
ணடி ரண்டின மாரததாண்டர் நனறுழநாடு
வாழத் திருக்கடிததானத்து உத்திரகணத்தாநும் நிழலும் பணியுங்
கடி வெணுடுடைய சிரிவல்லவங்கொதைவாமமர் ஆமைச்ச உத்திரவி-
மா ஆட்டாண்டு குமபைஞாயிறு காரத்தியை கொடி நாட்டி நிய-
க் முநநாழி நாழியால ஹாறமுநாழி அரிசொண்டு அட்டி யூணு கறி-
யுந நெய்யு மொண்டாய்ப் ப்ராமணரை ஊட்டிப் பத்து கூத்துமாடிச்சு
பணிமாணித்ததினகு பண்டு கொடுக்கும் அரிசியும் கொடுத்தது நாலாயி-
ராநா[ழியில்] வெமநிலை கொண்டு நியதிககு மீட்டு ஓதபலியுந னாகி
உத்திரத்தினு⁴

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity!

When the opposite the second year of king Śrī Bhāskara-Ravivarmar was current and when [Gōvardhana]-Mārttāndavarman was administering Nan-
rulai-nādu, the *uttaraganattār* (the council of men supervising the *uttira*-festival)
of Tirukkadittanam, the Government officers (*nāl*) and servants (*pani*) having
assembled, (arranged as follows):

For the *Uttiravilā* (Panguni-Uttirai festival) which Śrīvallabhan-Kōḍai-
varmar the ruler of *Vēṇādu* (*Vēṇādudaiya*) had instituted (in the temple), the flag
shall be hoisted every year on (the day of) Kārttigai in the month of Kumbha,
brahmans shall be fed daily with food cooked of 100 measures of rice by the mea-
sure holding three *nāl*, together with vegetables and ghee, ten *ṭṭu* (dramatic) per-
formances shall be played, and the servants shall be given the usual doles of rice;
and out of this four thousand *nāl* of rice, betel shall be supplied daily, and the
bal offerings shall also be given; and on the day of *Uttirai*

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 220-3

² Registered as No. 10 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1100 M. S.

³ The missing syllables must be செநிர .. மாண்டு கொவரத்தன

⁴ The writing stops here and may have been continued on the lower base, which is now covered up by the flooring of the prakāra

No. 62—Record of Bhaskararavivarman: 1 + 1 year.

The subjoined record belongs to the year opposite the first year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman, when Jupiter was in Tūlā, and records the gift of a piece of land which Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Muḷakkādu made to god Bhaḷāra at Tirukkaḍittānam for the expenses of feeding twelve brahmans in the temple and for 12 *nāli* of offerings on new-moon days. The donation was made on the auspicious day of (Chitrai)-vishu.

It is note worthy that the year of opposition is mentioned as the first and not the second year, as is usual in Bhāskara-Ravivarman's records. This inscription was published incompletely on p. 45 of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Volume II; and although the present transcript is not complete, the words that have been omitted previously have now been added, so far as the damaged state of the epigraph would admit.

The amount of paddy and the extent of land are not reconcilable.

Text.¹

வீஷு மீ [1¹] கொப்பாற்சுர இரவிவாமமா திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்-
ற² மாண்டைக்கெதிராமாண்டு நாலப்பத்தெட்டுமசென்ற துலாததில
வியாழந் தினம் [சித்தி]ரை கிழவி நாள திருக்கடி ததானத்து பழா-
ரர்க்கு முளக்காட்டு இயக்கங் கொவிநந அமைச்ச செல்வாவிது [1*]
ஒரு [ந]நதாவிளக்கும் பந்திருவா அமாவாதிநாள்பந்தி-
ருநாழி திரு அமிாதம் இச்செலவின்
யில் . [விழா]காப்பவரளிடை நாலாயிரத்தெண்ணூறு பறை நெல்லி-
னு [தா]ன் [அ]ட்ட[டின] நா[தூற்று]க்கலம் நிலமும் தறையும் பா-
ழாராகு அட்டி கொடுத்தான இயக்கங் கொவிநந இச்செலவு . . .
. முதுற்று . . . செலுத்த³

Translation

Hail ! Prosperity !

The expenses which Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ of Muḷakkādu provided for the god Bhaḷāra of Tirukkaḍittānam on the day of Chitrai-vishu, when forty-eight days had passed in the year opposite the . . year of king Bhāskara-Ravivarman's reign when Jupiter stood in Tūlā, are the following —

For one perpetual lamp and feeding twelve men . . . and for twelve *nāli* of rice on new-moon days, Iyakkaṇ-Gōvindaṇ gave with libation (of water) to for four thousand and eight hundred *para*i of paddy, land of four hundred *kalam* and some sites on behalf of the god.

This expense hundred shall provide.

1 Registered as No. 9 of the Trav. Epig. Colln for 1100 M. R.

2 It is possible that the syllables இரண்டா may have been omitted here.

3 The record stops here abruptly.

TRAVANCORE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERIES

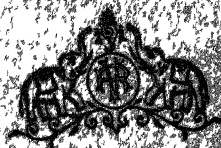
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With Index of Vol. V—Parts I, II and III.

BY

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2030

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Nayaka records in Travancore territory.

The decline of the power of the Pāndya dynasty in the Madura District may have to be traced from the time of the Muhammadan adventurer Malik Kafir, who overran South India in a magnificent raid in about A. D. 1311-2, and a Sultanate, which was founded in Madura soon after in about A. D. 1335, held that ancient capital in its possession for nearly 42 years till A. D. 1377, when the Vijayanagara prince Kumāra-Kampana once for all effectively ended Muhammadan domination in the southern most India. The Pāndyas migrating farther south contented themselves with the administration of the adjoining Tinnevely District, and their possessions included also some portions situated in the eastern and southern borders of modern Travancore, but these effete Pāndyas were soon dominated by the Vijayanagara kings and the whole of the southern districts were constituted into a viceroyalty of that empire, with headquarters at Madura.

The Nāyaka rulers of Madura were the generals who were posted by the Vijayanagara kings for the administration of this distant governorship, and they continued fairly loyal to the imperial house during the two centuries of their own rule, and though the Vijayanagara dynasty tottered to its fall in the second half of the 17th century with the death of Śrīranga III, they continued to call themselves still its loyal feudatories. The Nāyaka dynasty ruled over the Madura territory for over two hundred years from about A. D. 1530 to A. D. 1738. The subjoined list² of the Nāyaka rulers and the periods of their reigns will be useful for reference.

	<i>Nāyaka rulers of Madura.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>
	Nāganna-Nāyaka (Kāśyapa-gōtra)	.
1	Viśvanātha-Nāyaka	1529-64.
2.	Kṛṣṇnappa-Nāyaka	1564-72
3	Vīrappa-Nāyaka	1572-95
4	Kṛṣṇnappa-Nāyaka II	1595-1601.
	Kastūrā-Ranga	(a week)
5	Muttu-Kṛṣṇnappa-Nāyaka	1601-09
6	Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyaka I	1609-1623
7.	Tirumalai-Nāyaka	1623-59.
8.	Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyaka II	1659 (4 months)
9.	Chokkanātha-Nāyaka	1659-78
10.	Muttu-Liṅga-Nāyaka	1678
	[Ru-tun-Khun] ³	(Two years)
11	Chokkanātha-Nāyaka	1678-82
12	Muttu-Vīrappa-Nāyaka III	1682-89.
13.	Mangammāl	1689-1706
14.	Vijayaranga-Chokkanātha-Nāyaka	1706-32.
15	Mīnākshī ⁴	1732-38

1 Dr S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has suggested from numismatic evidence that there was a break of 12 years from A. D. 1345-57 and that Kampana's initial success against the Muhammadan Sultans of Madura may be attributed to this period. *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, p. 182.

2 Based on the *History of Madura Nayaks*, (R. Satyanatha Ayyar, 1924)

3 A short usurpation of power for two years

4 A copper-plate of this Queen is dated in Feb. 1739

Four Records of Muttu-Virappa-Nayaka.

The four records which are published below, belong to the time of king Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka I of the Madura Nāyaka dynasty, No. 6 in the above list. They are found engraved in a slovenly manner on the wall of the temple of Tirumūlasthānam-Udayār at Vindanūr *alias* Sāmbūrvadagarai in the Shencottah taluk. Three of them are dated in Śaka 1526 and 1527 and Kollam 782 corresponding to A. D. 1604, 1605 and 1607 respectively, and mention Śrīmat Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka. As this Nāyaka ruler is known to have reigned from A. D. 1609 to 1623,¹ these records appear to have been incised before he actually ascended the Madura throne in his own right. During the period from A. D. 1604 to 1607, his father Muttu-Krishnappa-Nāyaka (1601-09)¹ was the ruling king; and it appears likely that Muttu-Virappa, while yet the crown-prince, had under his control as governor, the tract of land bordering on the Tinnevely District and the present Travancore State.

The first of these inscriptions which is dated in Śaka 1526 (= A. D. 1604) mentions that some lands were gifted away as *sarvamānya* to the temple treasury-accountants in cancellation of an older arrangement, which had apparently involved some disability. Owing to some illegible gaps in the first record, its full purport is not possible to be made out.

The second inscription, also of the same date, appears to register the gift of some land made at the instance of a private individual named Nārāyana-Mudali, for the expenses of conducting the bathing ceremony of the god Mūlasthānam-Udayār at Vindanūr. The donor had evidently obtained this land from Śrīmat Muttu Virappa-Nāyaka, who further appears to have exempted the tenants of this land from the payment of certain taxes.

The third epigraph of the same Nāyaka ruler, Muttu-Virappa, is engraved on the four faces of a pillar set up in the Bhairava nadai in the temple at Cape Comorin. It registers that he made a gift of some lands in Kākkaraikkulam in Pullālāṅkurichchi-paṭṭu which could yield annually 56½ *kōṭṭai* of paddy and 30 *panam* required for providing one *kurumi* of sacred offerings to goddess Kanyā-Bhagavatī at the time of the morning worship. The accountant who looked after the conduct of this service in the temple was authorised to receive this cooked food for himself. This record is dated in Kollam 782, and the other astronomical details furnished therein are correct for Friday, the 1st of May, 1607 A. D. It is worthy of note that this Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka has been mentioned in this inscription as having had the other name of Viśvanātha-Nāyaka also (ll. 64 to 69). This gift of land made in A. D. 1607 was also in his capacity of Tinnevely Governor and not as a Nāyaka ruler of Madura, as stated above. Pullālāṅkurichchi is a village in the Tinnevely District.

No. 63—On the east wall of the mandapa, Amman shrine: Saka 1526

Text.²

1 முஹுஷு [1*] சகாததம கதுருளெடுசு ன மெல செல்-

¹ See list on previous page.

² Registered as No. 35 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1086 M. E.

- 2 லாநினற சொபகிது! ஹ்ல சித்திரை மாதம் வெவ ஸ்ரீமது
- 3 முத்துவீரப்ப நாயகரா வடகரை விநதண்ணா திருமூல-
- 4 கதானமமுடை[யார] கொவில் சிபண்டாரக காரியமச செயவாராகளு-
- 5 கருமெ-
- 6 லலா கனமையும் பெருக அறியவர கணக்கு காரியம் [1] திரு[மூலநா-
- 7 த1] கெ-
- 8 ாவி[ல] முன்னா நடநது [பொனபடி] வெண்டாமென்று [அ]ததம
- 9 துடைத்துக களித்து கட்டளை இட்டு மணியம் கணக்கும் வெண்ட-
- 10 மமென்று ஸ்வ-மாரிதீ . . . இட்டொம் [1] இநதபடி-
- 11 இன்னா முதல் சூழந்ராகச-ம . மங் .
- 12 . . . [ஊக்கு] சவ-மாரியம் ஆக நடத்திகொ ஹ்லவராகளாகவும் [11]

Abstract of Contents.

On the 17th day of the month of Chittirai in the (cyclic) year Śōbhakrit which was current after Śaka 1526, Srīmat Muttu-Virappa-Nāyaka set aside the old usage in the temple of Tirumūlattānam-Udayār at Vindanūr on the northern bank (Valogai), abolished the posts of *maniyam* and *kanakku*, and ordered that certain gifts were to be considered as *sarvamānya*

No. 64- -On the east wall of the mandapa, Amman shrine: Śaka 1526.

Text.²

- 1 பப ஹ்லவ- [1*] ஸகாததீ துரு[2மேசு] மெல் செல-
- 2 லாநினற சொபகிது! ஹ்ல ஆனி மாதம் ருட திரு-
- 3 வாய் மெரளிந்து அருளின்படககு சிலாமுறி* [1*]
- 4 வடகரை விநதனூர் திருமூலத்தானமுடையார
- 5 கொவில் சிபண்டாரகாரியம் செயவாராகளுக்கு [வர]க காட்டி-
- 6 னை காரியம் [1*] சவாமியார கொவில் முன்னா நடநது பெ[ரண] படி-
- 7 னடாம மென்று களித்துக கட்டளை இட்டொம் [1*] மெறபடியெ இ-
- 8 னனா மு-
- 9 துலுநகு ஆசநதிராககம் சவ-மாரியம் ஆக செயபிலும் சிலைஇலும் வெ-
- 10 டடிந-
- 11 டத்திக கொளருவாராகளாகவும் [11*]

Abstract of Contents.

On the 5th day of the month of Āni in the year Śōbhakrit which was current after Śaka 1526, an order was issued to the accountants of the treasury of Tirumūlathānam-Udayār temple at Vindanūr that certain lands were to be treated as *sarvamānya* in supersession of some old arrangements⁵

1 Read சொபகிது.

2 Registered as No. 34 of the Trav. Epig Colln. for 1086 M. E.

3 Read சொபகிது.

4 முறி is a document, and a சிலாமுறி is a கல்வெட்டுப்பிரமாணம்.

5 This record seems to be supplementary to No. 63 above.

No. 64—On the east wall of the mandapa, Amman shrine: Saka 1527.

Text.¹

- 1 ஸஹஸ்ரம் [1+] [ச]காத்தம் தருவென மெல செல்லாநின்ற . . (ஹ)
[ஆனி].
- 2 மாதம் ஷக்ஷ ஸ்ரீமது முததுவீரப்பநாயகராய . . சித்தக குடுத்த
- 3 . . . சாமி நாராயணமுதலியா . ரொம் [1+] வடகரை வினதனூர் திருமூல-
த்தானமு-
- 4 டையார அவிஷேக கட்டளைக்கு நல்லபெருமாள் பிள்ளை அய்யன் அறை-
க்கு . .
- 5 ததுக குடுத்த சித்தாததமகரை . யூர் சுறவைகாணதகில [அக்காசில]
இக்கரமபி[ள்ளை]
- 6 பெருமாள் நம்பி உளபட்ட குடிஆழ இவர்கள் பெரின உண்டான கால-
ப்பிரிவு-
- 7 க்கு உண்டான இறையும் சிவ்வரி பெருவரி ஏற்பொப்பபட்டதும் இன்னு-
- 8 ள முதலுக்க சுவாமி அவிஷேகத்துக்கு விட்டபடியினாலே ஆசந-
- 9 திராககம் தந்ததி பெறவெசமெ செமபிலும சிலைஇலும் வெட்டி
- 10 நடத்திக கொள்ளுவார்களாகவும் [11⁺]

Abstract of Contents.

On the 19th day of the month of [Ām] in the Śaka year 1527, the land called Nallaperumāl Ayyanarai was granted by Śrīmat Muttu-Virappa-Nāyakar-ayyan for the expenses of conducting the bathing ceremony of the god Tirumūla-sthānam-Udayār at Vindanūr on the northern bank (Vadagarai). Certain taxes, namely, *irai*, *śilvarai*, *peruvurai*, etc., were deducted and the charity had to be conducted as long as the moon and the stars endure.

No. 65—On the north wall of the Siva temple.

This record engraved on the north wall of the central shrine of the Śiva temple in the same village registers the gift of lands by a private individual named Kōdaichchan of Vindanūr for the *pradōsha* evening service to be conducted in the temple of Tirumūlanātha for the merit of Pichchan-Uttamagaṅga, and for special worship to god Subrahmanya on Kārttigai days every month for the merit of Ammai-adiyāṇ.

The date when these gifts were made is not given, but from the Tamil characters of the record, it may be assigned to about the same period as the above two inscriptions.

Text.²

- 1 ஸஹஸ்ரம் [1*] சுவாமி திருமூலனாதா பிறதொ-
- 2 ஷகட்டளைக்கு வடகரை வினதனூர்
- 3 கீழைத்தெரு கொதைச்ச 36 பிச்ச-

1 Registered as No. 34 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1086 M. E

2 Registered as No. 26 of the Trav Epig. Colln for 1086 M. E

3 This symbol is not understood. It may be கணக்கு.

- 4 ன உத்தமகங்கன புண்ணியமாக
 5 கொண்டுவிட்ட இவ்வூர் பெரியகுளத்தின் கீழ் ப-
 6 ததுக்க[ர]ல் சங்கண்ணு தடி கட வ கக கண்ணு
 7 தடி கட வ அக தடி உஉ சப இன்னிலம் அரைமாவு-
 8 ம ஆசந்திர[ர]ற்ககம் பிறதொஷகட்டையா-
 9 க குடிநீங்கா தெய[வ*] தானமாக அனுபவித்து-
 10 காண்டு பிறதொஷ[ம*] ஒன்றுக்கு அபிஷே-
 11 க கட்டை நெய்வெத்தியத்துக்கு பணம்
 12 ஒன்றுக்கு ஆண்டு ஒன்றுக்கு இருபத்தைச் பண-
 13 ம குடுத்துப் பொதுவாராகவும் [1*]
 14 ஷே அமமையடியான புண்ணியமாக
 15 குமாரருக்கு மாதமதொறும காததிகைத்தி-
 16 நூநாளுக்கு நடக்குமபடிக்கு கொ-
 17 ண்டிவிட்ட மெட்டுமடை நூங்கண்ணு-
 18 று தடி கட வஉந இன்னிலம் காணி
 19 முந்திரிகையும [11*]

Abstract of Contents.

Kōḍaichcha . . . , a resident of the east street of Vindanūr gave $\frac{1}{2}$ *ma* of land comprised in two bits of land under the Periyakulam of the same village for conducting the *pradōsha* evening worship of god Tirumūlanātha for the merit of Pichchan-Uttamagaṅgaṇ. This land was let out on *kudīnīṅgā-dēvadāna* tenure (tenantship in perpetuity) and 25 *panam* had to be paid to the temple every year at the rate of one *panam* per *pradōsham* for the expenses of offerings and the sacred bath.

For the merit of Ammai-adiyāṇ, a gift of *kāni* ($\frac{1}{80}$) + *mundirikai* ($\frac{1}{320}$) was also made for conducting the special worship of god Kumāra (Subrahmanya) on the day of the Kārttigai asterism every month

No. 66—Cape Comorin record of Muttu-Virappa-Nayaka: Kollam 782.

Text.¹

First side.

- 1 சகாததம் கண்ணுஉயிசு
 2 மெல் செல்லாநின்ற கொ-
 3 ல்லம் எளியுஉ ஹு² வை-
 4 காசிமாதம் நஉ பூறுவ பக்க-
 5 ததுப் பூணையும பெற்ற வி-
 6 சாகத்தினுளச் செயத ச-
 7 ததிமுகமாவது [1*] முறத-
 8 தானாட்டுக் குமரியில நாச்-
 9 சியார குமரிப்பகவதி நா-
 10 சசியார் கொயில் சிபண்ட-

1 Registered as No. 41 of the Trav. Epig. Colln. for 1085 M. B.

2 The details of date correspond to A. D. 1607, May 1 Friday, 77, 81

- 11 ராககாரியஞ் செய்வாரா-
- 12 களொம் மெற்படி நாட-
- 13 டு மெற்படியூரில் மெற்படி
- 14 கொயில தனமகத்தா
- 15 கணக்கு எனனுடைய
- 16 நயினுன் திருநெல்வெலி-
- 17 ப்பெருமாளுக்கு [1⁺] தினப்ப-
- 18 டியாகச சிலவு நடக்கு-
- 19 மபடிகு நாச்சியாரக்-
- 20 கு நித்தற்படி நடநதுபொ-
- 21 தும காலசந்தி பூசையில ந-
- 22 ாளது முதல் நாளொன்று-
- 23 க்கு கற்பித்த சொறு குருணி இ-
- 24 நத சொறு குருணிகும்
- 25 நாள ஒன்றுக்கு அமுதுபடி
- 26 குருணியாக மாதம் ஒன்று-
- 27 க்கு அமுதுபடி இருகலனெ
- 28 தூணி பதக்கு இதுக்கு இர-
- 29 ண்டலுசுக்கு மாதம் ஒன்று-
- 30 க்கு இருவதுமபடி எ.கெ.ந.ஷ
- 31 ஆக ஆண்டு ஒன்றுக்கும் அதிக-
- 32 க நாள் அஞ்சுகும் எ-
- 33 கெ.சு.ந.ஷ. இதுவும் ஆறி-
- 34 ல் ஒன்று கூற்றரிசுக்கு ஆ-
- 35 ண்டு ஒன்றுக்கும் அதிக
- 36 நாளஞ்சுகும் நெல கொ-
- 37 ட்டை ஒன்பதெ அரைக்கா-
- 38 ல் நித்தற்படிக்கு நெல்
- 39 கொட்டை ஒன்றரை இதுவும்

Second side.

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 40 ஆக கொட்- | 56 பற்றில் காக்க- |
| 41 டை அன்பத- | 57 ரைக்குளமும |
| 42 தாமெ காலு- | 58 புரவும் கிணறு- |
| 43 க்கு சத்தக்க- | 59 ம கலரக்கா- |
| 44 லிக்கு நடை மு- | 60 மெ கூடச கி- |
| 45 ப்பதுக்கு ப- | 61 லவு நிலமாக |
| 46 ணம் முப்பது | 62 விட்டுத தந்து |
| 47 ஆக ஆண்டு ஒ- | 63 இவ்வகைப்ப- |
| 48 னறுக்கு நெல | 64 டியெ பூரீது |
| 49 கொட்டை அ- | 65 விசுவநாத ந- |
| 50 ன்பததாமெ- | 66 ராயக்காரன |
| 51 காலுக்கும் ப- | 67 முத்துவீரப்ப- |
| 52 ணம் முப்பதுக- | 68 ராயக்கா அ- |
| 53 கும மெற்படி | 69 ய்யன் அவர்க- |
| 54 நாட்டு புல்ல- | 70 ன் கற்பித்து ந- |
| 55 ரலங்குறிச்சி | 71 ராச்சியாரக- |

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| 72 கு நிததறப- | 76 சொறு குரு- |
| 73 டி நடநது - | 77 ணியும் நா- |
| 74 பாதும கால- | 78 ளது முதல் |
| 75 சந்தி பூசை | |

Third side.

- 79 தன்மகத்தா கண்-
 80 கரு எனனுடைய ந-
 81 யினுன் திருநெல்வெலி-
 82 பபெருமாள் ஆசந்திர-
 83 தாரவற சந்ததிப்பித-
 84 வெகமெ பறறிக கைய-
 85 ண்டு பொதுமபடி கற்-
 86 பித்து நாச்சியரா சன-
 87 னதியிலிருந்து சத்திமு-
 88 கமும் எழுதிககுடுத்துக்
 89 கலலிலும் வெட்டிக்குடுத்-
 90 தொம் சிபண்டாரககாரி-
 91 யரு செய்வரா+ளொம் [11*] இ-
 92 பபடிக்கு சீகாரியம்
 93 முதலிராயக்கர் எழுத்து
 94 அததாநதிரக்கணக்கு
 95 கண்ணயிரம் எழுத்து க-
 96 டைக்கூட்டு கணக்கு
 97 செவவந்திராத [பி]ளனை
 98 கணக்கு குமாரசுவாமி
 99 எழுத்து செவவந்தி செ-
 100 ட்டியரா கணக்கு பறபன-
 101 பன எழுத்து வாலப்ப நா-
 102 யக்கற கணக்கு மாதிககு-
 103 ட்டி எழுத்து நாகுச்செட்டி
 104 னையக்கா கணக்கு சட்டு-
 105 காபன எழுத்து தெவநா-
 106 த்திக்கிஷா கணக்கு கண்-
 107 டை எழுத்து முதல் பற்று -
 108 மற்படி கணக்கு சிவந்திர-
 109 குட்டி காளிகுட்டி எழுத்து
 110 மமற்படி அனந்தன இரவி
 111 எழுத்து தன்மகத்தா கண்-
 112 க்கு நயினுன் பெருமாள்
 113 எழுத்து சீபண்டாரகணக்-
 114 கு நயினுன் மாததாண-
 115 டன் எழுத்து ||

Translation.

In the Kollam year 782 which was current when Śaka 1529 had expired, on the 3rd day of the month of Vaikāṣī—a day of the Viśākha-asterism and

paurnimā-*tīhi*, the following permanent deed (*śattimukam*) was issued by the officials of the treasury of the temple of goddess Kumari-Bhagavati at Kumari in Murattā-nādu, to Ennudaḷya-nayinān Tirunelvēlpperumāl, the accountant of the Dharmakarttar

The scale of expenditure for the conduct of the daily morning service (*kālai-śandi*) of the goddess Nāchchuyār, is

one *kuruni* of rice per day for cooked food of one *kuruni* daily, *i. e.*, two *kalam*, one *tūṇi*, and one *padakku* per month;

or in the proportion of five for two, the paddy according to the 20-measure is $3\frac{3}{4}$ *kōttai* per month;

i. e., for one year and for the five extra days (of a year), the paddy required is $45 + \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{8}$ *kōttai*;

for the *kūrrariṣi* or rice for apportionment (*kūru*), the paddy (required) is $9 + \frac{1}{8}$ *kōttai* for one year and the extra five days:

$1\frac{1}{2}$ *kōttai* (per year) for the daily requirements of paddy:

in all, $56\frac{1}{4}$ *kōttai* of paddy:

the wages for carrying this paddy are 30 *panam* for 30 *nadaḷ* (times of carrying)—

i. e., for one year, $56\frac{1}{4}$ *kōttai* of paddy and 30 *panam*.

For the above expenses, the village of Kākaraikkulam in the *parru* (sub-division) of Pullālaṅkurichchi, inclusive of *puṇavu* (garden land), wells, and arable lands was given.

From the morning service worship, which Śrīmat Viśvanātha-Nāyakkar alias Muttuvīrappa-Nāyakkarayyan had instituted to be conducted daily to the goddess in this manner, Nayinār-Tirunelvēlpperumāl, the accountant of the Dharmakarttar, shall from this day receive the *kuruni* of cooked food daily, as long as the moon and star endure and in lineal succession.

Thus did we, the officials of the temple-treasury give a permanent order (*śattimukam*) from the sacred presence of the goddess and had it engraved on stone.

Then follow a number of signatures of accountants:—Mudali-Nāyakkar, the *artāntara-kanakku* Kannāyram, Kumārasvāmī, the accountant of Śevvandinātha-Pillai, Pappāḥpan of Śevvandi-Settiyār, Mādikkutti of Vālapa-Nāyakkar, Śatagōpan of Nāgūṇṇ-Nāyakkar, Kandaḷ of Dēvanātha-Dīkshitar, Sivīndrakutti-Kāḷikuṭṭi and Anantaṅ-Ravi of the first *parru*, Nayinān-Perumāl of the Dharmakarttā, and Nayinān-Mārttāṇḍan, the treasury-accountant.

No. 67—Cape Comorin record of Chokkanatha-Nayaka: Kollam 839.

The subjoined inscription belonging to the reign of the Nāyaka king, Chokkanātha-Nāyaka, is engraved on three sides of a stone pillar in a *maṇḍapa*

near the Chakra-tirtham at Cape Comorin. It is dated in Kollam 839 and corresponds to A. D. 1664, June 19. It registers the construction of a *matha* on the bank of the Chakra-tirtha to the north of the temple at Kanyakumari by Tirumalaik-kolundu-Pillai for the merit of Chokkanātha-Nāyaka and Vadamalaivappa-Pillai. The former was the Madura Nāyaka ruler, the son of Muttu-Vīrappa II and the grandson of the great Tirumalai-Nāyaka who reigned from A. D. 1659-82. Mangammāl who became famous in Madura history and who conducted the administration from 1689 to 1706 as the Queen-Regent during the minority of her grandson Vijayarāṅga Chokkanātha, was his queen.

The lands that were endowed for the conduct of this charity were situated in Panakkudi, which is a village in the Nanganeri taluk of the Tinnevely District.

Text.¹

First face

1	[உ] குரோதிஸ்ரு சகாதத-	14	ணியமாகவும் ² வட-
2	ம கண்டருளாமி[சு]ககு மெ-	15	மலையப்பபிள்ளை
3	ல் செல்லாநின்ற	16	அவாகனாக உ புண-
4	கொல்லம் அரங்குகல்	17	ணியமாகவும்
5	ஆனியர்ம உயில பூறுவட-	18	திருமலைக்கொழுந்த
6	சகிசத்து சத்தமியும்	19	பிள்ளை அம்மன் குமர்
7	ஆதித்த(த)வாரமுட	20	பபகவதி அம்மன்
8	சத்தயொகமும கெ-	21	னனிதிககு உத்தர-
9	சகரணமு உத்திர-	22	திககில சககரத்தத-
10	ததினாள் செயத தன-	23	ககரை படதிருப
11	ம சிலைத்தமபமாவது [1*]	24	புறம் கிருஞான-
12	சொககனாதையகக-	25	சமம் உத பண்டர-
13	அபயனுக்கு புண	26	ரத்துக்கு தனம்-

Second face.

27	தானப பிறமா-	41	ரிசூரியன் கு-
28	ணமாக குடுத்த	42	ளத்தில விரை-
29	படியினுலெம்-	43	கொட்டை மசம் கா-
30	டத்து நடக்கும-	44	ளிகண்ணாற்றி-
31	படிக்கு விட்டுக்கு-	45	ல் விரை கொட்டை மச-
32	தத நிலமாவது [1*] ப-	46	ம உத்தனபற்றல்
33	ணக்குடியில் [உ]	47	கருங்குளத்தல்
34	கரைகச்சளத்த-	48	தெரேற்றறுகுள-
35	ல புதிருத்து வி-	49	மும கொழுமெ-
36	ரை கொட்டை	50	னர்குள முட பு-
37	மரும விலவளை	51	ஞ்சை விரை-
38	ஞ்சான திருத்-	52	காட்டை நடு-
39	தில விரை கொ-	53	ம வாரியூரில் செங்
40	ட்டை நடு ப-	54	குளமும அளத்தி-

1 Registered as No. 50 of the Trav. Epig Colln for 1086 M. S.

2 This individual has figured in a few records in the Tinnevely District (Nos 296 and 297 of 1916) in the reign of Tirumalai-Nāyaka.

Third face.

55	ல மாதம் ஒன்றுக்கு உப்பு டெ-	69	நுமாண்மரக ஆ-
56	காட்டை வம் நாளுகி-	70	னுபவித்து கொள-
57	னாடு கொண்மங்க-	71	வராகவும [11 ⁺] யிரத
58	லத்து அம்மன திருவி-	72	தனமத்தை பரி-
59	ளையாட்டத்து விரமா-	73	பாலனம் பண்ணி-
60	ததாண்டபெரெரி பு-	74	னவரகள் கொந-
61	ணாகுளம் முதுதரி-	75	கைக்கையிலெ
62	சு திருத நம் யிது வெ-	76	அச்சவடெமதயா-
63	லல[ர:]ம விட்டு குடுத-	77	க[ம ^k] பண்ணின் பல-
64	து கலவிலும் செ-	78	மும கெ(ங்க)ாத-
65	மபி(ல்)லும் வெட்டி-	79	தானம் பண்ணி-
66	குடுததபடியினு -	80	ன பல்மும பெறு-
67	ல யிரத தனம்[ம*] ஆ-	81	வாராகவும [11*]
68	தச்சுதிரபி-		

Translation.

In the Kollam¹ year 839 which was current after Śaka 1586, the (cyclic) year being Krōdhin, on the 20th day of the month of Āṇi, which was a Sunday with *saptamī-tithi* of the first fortnight, Siddha-yōgam, Gaja-karana and Uttiram nakshatra, this stone pillar was prepared (and set up).

The lands which Tirumalaikkolundu-pillai gave to Tiruññāpasambandha-Pandāram for conducting for the merit of Chokkanātha Nāyakarayyan and Vaḍa-malaiyappa-Pillai, the charities of the *matha* on the bank of the Chakra-tīrtha, to the north of the shrine of the goddess Kumari-Bhagavatī, are the following.—

The new reclaimed land (*tiruttu*) under the Karaikkulam in Panakkudi, having a sowing capacity of 15 *kōttai* of (paddy) seed;

land having the sowing capacity of 3 *kōttai* of seed in Vilvaḷamñān-tiruttu;

land having the sowing capacity of 14 *kōttai* of seed under the Parisūriyaṅkulam;

land having the sowing capacity of 14 *kōttai* of seed under Kāli-sluiice, and dry land having the sowing capacity of 30 *kōttai* of seed under the Tērēru-kulam in Karunkulam of the southern *parru*, and the Kolumaṇṇikulam;

also $\frac{1}{2}$ *kōttai* of salt per month from the salt-pans of Śeṅgulam at Vāriyūr;

and the old waste land under the Vīramāttāṇḍa-pērēi, and Puṇarkulam belonging to the temple of the goddess at Kōṇa-mangalam in Nāñji-nāḍu.

As all these were given and this fact was engraved on both stone and copper, let them be enjoyed and the charity be conducted, as long as the moon exists

Those who perpetuate this charity shall obtain the merit of having performed *aśvamēdha* sacrifice and *gō-dāna* gifts on the banks of the Ganges.

1 The English equivalent is A D 1664, June 19, Sunday, f d i. 12, 82

No. 68—A few label-inscriptions in the Cape Comorin Temple.

The subjoined label-inscriptions are all engraved in the *mandapa* in front of the Kāśi-Viśvanāthar shrine within the Kanyākumari temple at Cape Comorin. From the fact that the lintel of the entrance of this shrine bears the label Pūlāndurai-Śivan, it appears possible that this shrine was built by an individual from Pūlāndurai. Another label states that Nallaśivan, probably the same individual, always keeps in mind the two feet of Pūlāndurai-nāthar. Two other labels mention Alagappa-Mudaliyār* and Vadamalaiyappa-Pillai, the latter of whom has figured in some records of the Madura Nāyaka rulers. The alphabet of these labels can be only about three centuries old. The rough outline sketches of the persons, engraved in stone as prostrating before the god, were intended to denote the particular devotees, who had contributed for the erection of this shrine.

Texts of the Labels.¹

- 1 பூலாநதுறைச சிவன
- 2 தெவந கன்னியா பாகன
- 3 பூலாநதுறைநாதர் இருபாத மறவாத நல்லசிவன
- 4 அழகப்பமுதலியார்²
- 5 வடமலையப்பிள்ளை அய்யன³
- 6 திருப்பணி சிதம்பரம்

The Nayaka Invasions of South Travancore.

Elsewhere⁴ it has been pointed out that the Āruvāymoli Pass has, on account of its strategic position on the trunk line of easy communication between the eastern and western halves of the southernmost apex of the Indian Peninsula, played quite an important part in the vicissitudes of Travancore history. It was the open door through which her invaders often swooped down on the prosperous taluks of Nāñji-nāḍu, bent on conquest or plunder, whenever a favourable opportunity presented itself.

In the 16th century, Travancore had experienced two visitations from the distant Vijayanagara kings in A. D. 1532 and 1545, and the second⁵ of these had been led by the Vijayanagara viceroy Rāmarāja-Viṭthaladeva-Mahārāja who advanced as far as Suchindram on this occasion and built the fine *gōpura* to the

- 1 Registered as Nos 14 to 19 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1090 M. E. No 20 of 1090 is a simple arithmetical puzzle in nine compartments, the sum total of the three-digits in each line of which, horizontally, vertically and diagonally, is 15.
- 2 This individual appears to be a private individual and different from Alagappa-Pillai who has figured in a Madura record.
- 3 This Vadamalaiyappa-Pillai is identical with the individual figuring in No 50 of 1086, dated in Kollam 839. The figures also in a few of the inscriptions of the Tinnevely District Nos 296 and 297 of 1916 in the reign of the Madura ruler Tirumalai-Nāyaka.
- 4 Vide *Trav Archl Series*, Vol V, p 1 and the paper entitled 'Āruvāymoli Pass' in the *Journal of Indian History*, April 1925.
- 5 *Trav State Manual*, Vol I, p 296 7.

temple there, as an eloquent memento of his achievements in the South. The succeeding century had to endure two major and a few minor invasions by the Madura Nāyaka rulers, once during the reign of Tirumala-Nāyaka (A. D. 1623-59) and a second time in the reign of the queen-regent Mangammāl (A. D. 1689-1706).

"The causes that may have impelled Tirumala-Nāyaka to invade his neighbour's territory are not clearly known, but the raid must have been due to the refusal by the Travancore king¹ to pay the customary tribute which had apparently been fixed to be paid by the Travancore kings to Madura on behalf of the Vijayanagara Emperor, whose loyal subordinate the Travancore ruler was at this period. This invasion and the damages it had caused to the eminently agricultural population of Nāñjinādu are referred to in a royal *nāttir*² or cadjan order which is dated in the month of Kumbha in Kollam 810. The fact that a remission of taxes had to be granted for the *Kār* and *piśānam* crops helps us indirectly to fix the date of the invasion to have been before Kannu and Kumbham 810 *i. e.*, in about the end of the year 1634. The Nāyaka's invasion must surely have overwhelmed the Travancore king and reduced him to his original position of vassalage, which he had unsuccessfully attempted to shake off.

"The second invasion of southern Travancore by the Madura army occurred during the regency of Mangammāl. Ever since the time of the earlier invasion noticed above, Travancore was a subordinate of Madura and had consequently to pay an annual tribute; and whenever there was a delay in its payment the 'Aduga' army swooped down on the southern territory in the vicinity of the Āruvāymoli Pass and harassed the people in diverse ways. On one such occasion, the Travancore king Ravivarman (A. D. 1684-1718) who was himself hard-pressed at home by the insubordination of his feudal barons called the Ettuvittal-Pillamār, entered into an alliance with the Nāyaka army and utilised its help in disposing off some of these mischievous ministers. But when that danger was past, the Travancore king inveighed the Madura army with false promises into the Kalkulam Fort and falling on it unawares, hacked it to pieces. Queen Maṅgammāl's invasion of A. D. 1697-8 was therefore one undertaken in a spirit of vengeance to wipe out this disgrace, and the Madura army overran Nāñjinād and wrought considerable havoc to the people. The Travancore king was finally obliged to come to terms and sue for peace by the payment of all the arrears of tribute and other presents. An extremely mis-spelt record of Queen Maṅgammāl is found on a slab set up near a well at Kōttār."³

Prostrated as South Travancore had already been by the earlier invasions, these Nāyaka raids and their counter-reprisals must have not only caused considerable loss of property and life to the poor Travancore subjects, but must have also engendered in them a feeling of deep resentment against their king, who, handicapped at every turn by the machinations of his feudal barons could only look on

1 The Travancore ruler in Kollam 810 may have been Unni-Kēraḷavarman and Ravivarman whose records hitherto discovered are dated in Kollam 791, and Kollam 798-820 respectively.

2 See also *History of the Madura Nayaks*, (1924), p. 120-1. The text has been published on page 208 *infra*.

3 This para has been extracted from my paper on the Āruvāymoli Pass in the *Journal of Indian History*, April 1925.

in helpless indignation at the excesses committed by the invaders, and essay at best but a feeble attempt at driving the enemy away, which despite its futility, ended in the levy of fresh conscriptions from the already over-taxed population. Normal agriculture could not be proceeded with owing to the constant raids of the enemy, and with the plunder of paddy and seed-grain that followed in their wake, famine stalked the once prosperous tract of country, significantly named the Nāñjil-nādu, 'the land of ploughs' or an agricultural district *in excelis*.

A graphic account of the devastated state of the country and the calamities which the poor people of Nāñjil-nādu from Mangalam¹ to Manakkudi had been groaning under, in consequence of these two invasions and numerous other marauding expeditions, minor in importance, but of sufficient magnitude to swell the long tale of troubles with which the poor population had already been burdened, has been furnished in a lithic inscription found in South Travancore and in a few *śilā* documents² found in the house of Periyavīttu-Mudaliyār of Alagiyapāndiyapuram whose ancestors were influential personages in these days. The purport of these cadjan *nāttus* has already been ably summarised in the *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, pp 302, *et seq*, but the texts of these documents together with revised translations have now been appended, with a view to their importance, not only in giving us a true picture of the state of the country in that troublous century, but also in showing how the mass-assemblies put up a united front.

The *nāttārs* appear to have met in council (called the *nāttukkūttam*) on three occasions at Vadaśēri, Īsāntimangalam and at Kadukkarai, and to have solemnly resolved to oppose the schemes of the king, which involved only the imposition of further grievous taxes on them, without the protection of life and property for which taxes are levied from the subjects, to safeguard their ancient privileges, whose established currency was being set aside by the high-handed conduct of the king's officers, to make a united stand against the oppressions of the king's mercenary agents, and to leave Travancore and settle elsewhere outside its frontier, in case proper assurances of redress were not forthcoming and their grievances were not set right by early and effective measures. According to the *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I, p 323-4—

"The Nāñjinād people became desperate . . . The spirit of lawless defiance to the king's authority engendered by the state of affairs in the country reached its climax, when the people met and resolved that any man who acted against the interests of the public therein assembled was to be treated as a common enemy and dealt with accordingly . . . The people also more than once abandoned their houses and took to the neighbouring hills refusing to return to their villages unless the king promised to redress their grievances."

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- 1 Mangalam has been identified with a village of that name near Ponmana, and Manakkudi is a village in South Travancore 5 miles from Suchindram—*T S M*, Vol I, p 316
 - 2 These were found copied in a register in the office, and though their correctness could not be verified now, they have been accepted as such. The *State Manual* account appears to have been based on these transcripts only.

The king finally promised them concessions, in case they came and settled down to peaceful agriculture as before

Most of the revenue terms and other expressions that have been used in these records are given below, and their significance has also been explained, wherever possible, from the *Trav Rev. Manual* etc

Adakkirāvu—appears to signify a variety of paddy. Can in be *Arakkan-Kuruvai* used for the *Arakkal* crop which is harvested in Kannu?

Ambalakkarakar—This is the name of a class of Śūdra servants doing service in temples, such as weaving garlands etc., for the god's worship. In north Travancore they are called *Ambalavasis* and have now crystallized into a distinct sub-caste, on account of their profession. But here *Ambalakkārar* means 'the men in charge of a village'

Ānavāl—is the Brahman-manager of the temple. *Ānaral* or *Ānayāl* is literally 'one who mounted on an elephant'; but it is probable that *na* has wrongly been used in place of *nā*, and that the word has perhaps to be derived from *ānar* + *āl*, the man who wields authority (*ānar* Skt *ājñā*). *Anavālu* occurs in Telugu inscriptions in the sense of a witness like *ānatti* in Tamil (*Mad. Epig. Repn* for 1922, p 108).

Āndakkuri - *Kuri* is the name for a note (*kurippu*) or receipt and *āndakkuri* is therefore the receipt for the year.

Añjāli—was the name of a kind of cess levied on paddy lands in South Travancore. It is considered to represent 'the tax in grain which was substituted in place of the expenses of providing wicker-work images which it was the duty of the Nāñji-nādu people to set up during the festivals in temples.' The derivation of the word is however obscure though it is said to be compounded of *añju* = five and *āli* = images.

Aṇṇāri—is derived from *Annālri*, a brother (therefore a term of respect). Gundert gives the meanings 'a tutor' or 'head of a company of actors'. It now represents a class of Brahmans who are connected with the management of the temples

Chōddiyam-chōdi—*chōddiyam* originally connoted 'enquiry', but it had also the higher significance of 'a trial sometimes supplemented with torture'. The back-biters among the ryots (*nāttārs*) appear to have been simply put on trial and when their complicity against the general interests of the village assemblies was proved, some punishment appears to have been inflicted on them, such as fines, confiscation of property etc.

Dēśa-tadai—Distrant of the lands in villages.

Kachchar-yāvinai—*Kachchar* is cloth and *yāvinai* (*yāvanā*) means a gift. This tax appears to be connected with the supply or gift of cloth; but it has been interpreted to mean 'the shreds of cloth used for torches' (*pandam*)—T S M., Vol. I, p 317

Kadaṇ-muri—A promissory note for a loan.

Kakkūli—is a bribe, and this is also its meaning in Tamil. In Malayalam, however, it has the additional connotation of the fine upon a lease and its renewal.

Kānam—is a kind of tenure on lands, according to which a loan of money is given as equivalent to mortgage, and a portion of the produce over and above the interest on the loan is also paid to the owner

Kandulavu—lands held on a particular tenure. It is also called *Kandukrishī*

Kāniyāṭchi—Hereditary rights of enjoyment of property, land, service, etc, granted to individuals

Kār—is the crop gathered in Kann (Sept-Oct)

Kara—An administrative unit called the *pravaṭṭi*, a small village

Kāranavanmār—Heads of the family and hereditary predecessors and ancestors generally, in the West Coast, they are in the case of the *maimakkattāyis*, the maternal uncles who manage the properties of the family. The descendants and next in succession are called *anantaravar*

Kōlum-kumandariyam—means back-biting and tale-bearing

Kōttarpanam or *Kōttarpadivu*—is probably an unusual tax at the rate of some *panam* for land having a sowing capacity of a *kōttai* of paddy; or it may refer to a military cess collected for maintaining fortifications and defence walls during wartime, as the *State Manual* has taken it. But in view of the information contained in one of the *ōlar* documents on p. , which says that the king forcibly demanded 125 *panam* per *kōttai* (of land), the correct significance is not clear.

Kōvikkal—Palace and, by metonymy, the king, *kal* is the locative suffix, which is often erroneously retained in Malayalam even in the nominative case.

Kudichchai-panam—This word may probably be *kudīśśika-panam*, signifying arrears of tax and amounts due.

Kudi-vāṅgu—is to emigrate in a body to another place. *Kudi* = residence, and *vāṅgu* = to remove.

Madappiram—represents the lands etc endowed as charity for the maintenance of *mathas* for the residence of an ascetic or for providing drinking water etc. to wayfarers. These lands cannot be sold to others.

Malavarāyamār—is not clear, it occurs as a clan-name elsewhere.

Manalvāri—a variety of paddy grown in Nāñji-nādu, dependent probably on rain only.

Māmbam—is a gift of land made to individuals for meritorious service to kings or to government. These lands were inalienable and were only lightly taxed.

Māttāl-panam—A kind of tax imposed on the people in Nāñji-nādu—‘an exchange commission’. If it be a tax of some *panam* per *mā* of land, we may have to expect *māvāl*, not *māttāl*.

Mēlvāram—A tax levied in kind on paddy-fields in addition to the ordinary dues paid to the government. The landlord's share of produce is also called *mēlvāram*.

Mēttu-kāval—*Kāval* is a watchman, and *mēttu-kāval* probably has reference to a guard stationed in a commanding position (*mēdu*), to watch over the domes of a village

Mōli-mārā-ōlai—An agreement from which there was no possibility of retraction, as this was sworn on the names of gods at Suchīndram and Bhūtapāndi

Nārradi—the plot used as the nursery, for rearing the seedlings prior to transplantation (*nārrup-padi*)

Nattuttānam—means the *sthānam* of the *nādu*, or the rights, privileges, and status, which the *nādu* enjoyed in political and social matters

Oluqu—primarily means a boundary, but as derived from *olunqu*, 'a regulation in proper order', *olugu* has come to signify the sifting of old accounts and the checking of entries made from them. *Oluqu* therefore connotes 'revenue settlement accounts' checked and reduced to some settled order.

Oppuravu-moh-ōlai or *oppuravu*—means an agreement of union (*oppu + uavu*). The document (*ōlai*) refers to a bond of union, which the parties entered into, to act unswervingly according to established customs and obligations.

Padivu kānikkai—*padivu* is a document acknowledging the ryot's right to cultivate and *kānikkai* is a fee. The fee was apparently for getting the document written up and registered in the ryot's name. *Padivu* also means the usual expenses (of a temple).

Padukalam—is a debt-bond. Arrears of taxes on land were consolidated into a *padukalam*, because lands were not auctioned for arrears of rent, and an extra cess was levied on such lands as *padukalam-palisa* to compensate the interest on the old arrears.

Palisa—is the interest on money lent; it also occurs as *polisar*.

Pandālai—is a high caste Śūdra, but of a lower status than a Kshatriya. The Sāmūdri is said to belong to this class.

Pandattinu-āmanakkennai—Castor oil for torches used during the entourage of kings

Pāttam—is an ordinary kind of lease, according to which the cultivator pays to the proprietor a stipulated proportion of produce in kind or in money etc., equal to the net produce, after the deduction of the seed sown and an equal quantity as reward for labour bestowed. It is of several varieties according to the particular nature of the transaction and the proportion of the quantities appropriated by the tenant and the owner respectively: *śamayap-pāttam*, *nēr-pāttam*, *tarap-pāttam*, *madappu-pāttam*, *panap-pāttam*, etc.

Perām(p)-pēru—*Pēru* is the abstract noun of *peru* (to obtain) and *perūn(p)-pēru* probably signifies that which is not due to be levied or demanded

Perumparra or *Perumparru-pāttam*—is the variant name of *Pandāravaka-pāttam* and means the crown-lands belonging to the king leased out to tenants under a particular system of tenure

Piḍāyaikkāran—*Piḍāgai* is a sub-division comprising of a few villages and a *piḍāyaikkāran* is the head of that territory. Nāñji-nādu was divided into six *piḍāgai*. *Nādu*, *piḍāgai*, *ūr* and individual have been referred to in the subjoined records in the descending order of unit measurement

Piramadānam (*Brahmadānam*)—gifts of land to brahman- for their proficiency in learning or for their spiritual services; these lands were sometimes held tax-free.

Pirandunāl-virai-vakai—the gifts of paddy-gran given to brahman- on birth days. This supply of paddy required for distribution during royal birth-days is said to have originally devolved on the ryots, and that it was afterwards commuted into a small tax and collected on the lands in Nāñji-nādu

Piṣāṇam—is the Kumbham crop, ready for harvesting in Kumbham (Feb.-March).

Pū—is a crop, and *oru-pū* and *iru-pū* signify single and double crops raised on a field, according to its irrigation and other facilities

Rāja-karam—royal hand i. e., the royal administrative officers and the tribunal of the kings ministers. *Rāja-karam* also means the *karam* (taxes) due to the *rāja* (king)

Rājakara-upādi—the tax which had to be paid to the officers of the king *Upādi* is the name of a tax—as in *upādi-vinayōgam* etc

Sambā—is a superior kind of paddy-gran extensively grown in Nāñji-nādu.

Śavu-kānikkai—was the funeral fee, usually a small amount which had to be paid to the king on the death of an individual. Similar fees were levied on festive occasions also, such as *Vālu-kānikkai*, *Kannāla-kānikkai* etc.

Śeda-yādam—means loss of property and life and other evils

Śirrorri—is a sub-lease which the lessee of a certain property enters into with another, to whom he leases it out for some amount

Śōrā-orri—also called the *mīla-orri*, is a permanent lease or irrecoverable tenure, in the nature of *kudi-janmam*. As the *Kāranavanmār* in big families (*taravād*) could not sell properties outright, they had recourse to the leasing of lands in perpetuity, for an amount almost equal to their normal sale value

Talaiakkuri or *tālaiikkaranam*—is the original deed *talai* signifies 'the first', while *kuri* is a document granted to the ryots, corresponding to *padavu* or *pattā* of later days.

Tali-saṅkētam—*saṅkētam* is the name of a religious corporation and *tali* is a temple. The lands belonging to a temple were under the control of a separately constituted body of members, who, in olden days, wielded unlimited powers within their jurisdiction. Even the king had no control over these corporations except in a general way. The lands belonging to the temples and managed by the *yōgams* were also exempt from the payment of certain taxes and were under a special form of tenure.

Tāṇa-māṇam—Rights and privileges, 'a position with emoluments conferring authority of different kinds and varying degrees'. *Tāṇa* may be derived both from *sthāna* (status, right) or *dāna* (gifts)

Tanippichēlam—This is not understood

Tanittendam—individual fines

Tittukkuri—*Tittu* is a Malayalam form of the word *śittu* and means 'a writ or document of brahmins and other high personages', and *kuri* is a note. *Tittukkuri* is therefore a document belonging to brahmins etc

Tettu—properly *dattu*, means adoption. Apparently the properties connected with adoption were given special consideration.

Torūpa-janaṅgal—*Torūpam* is a Malayalam form of *Svarupam*, royalty. *Svarūpa-janaṅgal* may therefore mean royal agents. *Svarūpi* is a chieftain or councillor. 'Svarūppakkār' as opposed to 'illakkār' connotes a lower section of *śūdras* in Travancore, who take service not under brahmin masters but with higher class *śūdras*.

Turakkārā—'are agents, accountants and other servants of a temple'. Under *pravarttikārs*, the last in gradation among the managing officers of respectability, were several inferior officers of whom a *Turakkāran* was one.

Ubhayam-paliśa—In South Travancore, *ubhayam* has the meaning of rice-fields (*ulppatti*). *Ubhayam-paliśa* is the interest, probably in kind, due on money or grain borrowed from the sarkar by the ryots in olden days.

Ulkudu—*Ul* is the 'interior' and *kudu* is 'to give out'. The expression may be taken to mean 'to divulge the internal arrangements' to the opposite party.

Ulppatti—means 'lands' in Nāñji-nādu; the produce on lands may also be so called.

Vayyā-varī—Taxes that could not be borne (*vayya* is a Malayalam form of *vahyā* from the Skt word *vah* = to bear)

Vittōdum-kūttōdum—*Vidu* is 'the house', i.e., the inmates thereof, and *kūttu* means his 'relatives and companions'. The full expression means 'all his relatives and dependants'

No. 69—Olai document dated in Kollam 810

Text.¹

- 1 நிருபலை முயக்கர படை கொண்டுவந எதுவாய எண்ணுது ஒருபதா-
- 2 மாண்டு சார தரிசு விழுநது பசானம் பயிரெறுவான காலப்பிற்ப பாடா-
ழகை
- 3 கொண்டு மணவாரியும் சம்பாவும் அதிககிரவியும் விதைச்சு புழுககொ-
ளாய்ப் பொக
- 4 கொண்டும பொதரவு இல்லாழகைகொண்டும நாடடினனு நொவு நொ-
மபிலம் ஒண்டாய்

1 This has been referred to in the *Trav State Manual*, Vol I, p 302. The text of this *Olai*-document was found in a Register in the office.

- 5 மங்கலமுதல் மணக்குடி வரை பெருமபற்றுத் தளிச்சங்கெதம் உளபபட்ட நாட்டார
- 6 கல்குளத்து நாம இரக்கினற இடத்து வந்து கங்கட்ட பழைகளில்
- 7 எண்ணுறறு ஒருபதாமாண்டு பசானம் ஒருபபு மெலவாரம் வெண்டாமெனறும்
- 8 பசான மெலவாரமாய் அளக்குமாரும் செய்க[1] இது எண்ணுறறு ஒருபதாமாண்டு மாசிமாத்தம்
- 9 இருபத்து இரண்டாந் மீதயதி கலப்பிதக்கமைக்கு இவ்வகைப்படி மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி
- 10 வரை பெருமபற்றுத் தளிச்சங்கெதம் உளபபட்ட பசானம் மெலவாரமாக அளக்குமாரும் கறபிச்ச
- 11 இச்செய்தி சொல்லி நாஞ்சினுடு மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை பெருமபற்றுத் தளிச்சங்கெதம்
- 12 உளபபட்ட உடவகை தெனவீதி நாட்டாக்கு நீட்டு எழுதி விடுக எனறு திருவுள்ளமாயது நீட்டு [11*]

Translation

As, on account of the invasion of the troops of Tirumalai-Nāyakkal, the lands had been left uncultivated during the *kār* season of 810, as the season for sowing for *piśāṇam* crops could not also be utilised; as the *manalvār*, *sambā* and *adil-kirār* (different kinds of paddy) which were sown had suffered from blight; as the ryots had not the where-withal to begin fresh cultivation; and as the country had suffered much from calamities; the *nāttārs* (ryots) of the territory between Mangalam and Manakkudi including those of (the lands of) *perumparru* and *tali-sankētam* came (in a deputation) to our residence at Kalkulam and represented their grievances

We were therefore pleased to relinquish the *oruppū-mēlvāram* tax of the year 810 and ordered *mēlvāram* alone to be collected on the *piśāṇam* crop (of the year)

Having thus decided on the 22nd day of the month of Māsī that only *mēlvāram* shall be realised on the *piśāṇam* cultivation in the territory from Mangalam to Manakkudi, inclusive of the *perumparru* and *tali-sankētam* lands, this *nittu* (order) was notified to the ryots of the southern and the northern half of Nāñjinādu, inclusive of those of *perumparru* and *tali-sankētam* lands therein

No. 70—Vadaseri record of Mangammal. Saka 1619.

The following record is so hopelessly misspelt, engraved as it must have been by an ignorant stone-mason, who in addition to his illiteracy appears also to have been an indifferent calligraphist, that it is impossible to make any sense out of this curious literary achievement. The date appears to be Śaka 1619, [Arpaśī], *dvitīyā-tithi* of the first fortnight, and Hasta-nakshatra. In the auspicious Kumbha-lagna and Pannikarṇa of this day, some charitable endowment appears to have been made, the nature of which is not determinable. In line 27 of the record the name of Mangammāl is mentioned; and it is possible that it refers to the

dowager Nāyaka queen of that name, who reigned as regent of her minor-grandson, Vijayarāṅga-Chokkanātha from A. D 1689 to 1706, because the date of the record Śaka 1619 corresponds to A. D 1697, the year in which this queen is said to have fitted out an expedition to Nāñṇi-nādu against the refractory Travancore king of that time *T. S. M.*, I-318. The well near which this inscribed slab is set up is locally called the Mangammāl-*dharma-kīrari*.

The individual named Ārumuga-Peru[nāl] who appears to have been mentioned in lines 23 and 24 may possibly be identical with his namesake who has figured in the cadjan documents dated in Kollam 878, 889 and 898

Text.¹

1	சாலிவக-	21	ன்று சயதள
2	ம சதறத்தள	22	ததில செட-
3	சன[சு]ரயக	23	[க] ஆறுமுதப-
4	வலச்சலமன	24	பெருத்தூய-
5	. செல[லு]-	25	யசாக வமிச
6	மகக நுறு யான	26	முல்ல ஈதனன-
7	வைப்பசி அ-	27	ள மககமர
8	அய வசிப்பறு-	28	வளவன்ற-
9	ககள உமய-	29	டச சநகர-
10	ம பூறுவபச-	30	ளளி எட்டுள ச
11	றறு துகிகை	31	து மசகமபய-
12	சுபனாமயெ[ர*]க-	32	க சசவயிசய-
13	மும பன்னி-	33	முனசுமுபவல
14	சரளமும அத-	34	புளயபளட்டுர
15	த நடசெதது-	35	சுகினடு சூல-
16	மும குமபலெ-	36	வ சனய்யறுறு
17	ம அதுச ந-	37	அவரிச சென
18	டகெத்தி[ர*]மு-	38	றத்துண திவடு
19	ம குமபலெ-	39	மம வெசசுடட
20	சகமம அ-	40	ம நெசபைமனடு-
		41	வசமரக

No. 71—Vadaseri inscription of Kollam 873.

Text.²

First side

1	அ அயக ஹு கரத்திகை[க]மீர சல நாட்டு-
2	ததனகடம தீத்து கல நாட்டி கொ-
3	தெத வகை [1*] நாயகரிடே படை வநது நா-
4	ஞ்சிராட்டில அநாயுட ஹு முதல் டல-
5	நாளும படை வநது படைக்கெடு வநு-
6	கை கொண்டு அந[ச]யக ஹு பசானம ² முதல அந-

1 Registered as No 118 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1099 M R

2 Registered as No 112 of Trav Epig. Colln for 1099 M R A duplicate of this record is found engraved on another pillar at Vayyālvilai at Idarāyakkudū

3 This and other words have been expressed by perplexing symbols

- 7 கூராகு ஹு பசானம் வரை அஞ்சாலி அடைச்சு
 8 [கணக்கு]¹ அடைக்க கொண்டும¹காபூ உம் பானா¹ பூ-
 9 றீம் ஆக பூ யீமீம் நாம கழிச்சு கொடுக்க-
 10 யில் அஞ்சாலி குத்தகை கொட்டைப-
 11 பதிவுக காணிக்கை பந்தத்தினு ஆமணக்கெ-
 12 ண்ணை வகையும் கச்சையாவீனை பிறநந-
 13 நாள்[பி]ரை² வகையும் கூடக குறைச்சுந
 14 கொடுத்து மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை ஒலை-
 15 ப பெட்டிகமும் தீட்டி குறிகளும் பொய[ப]-
 16 பொகையில ஷை ஒலைகௌ பாதாமொ-
 17 ருத்தா பறறில் காணுந நாள் கண்ட கள்-
 18 ததில் கீறுந கிழியும் பட்டுப பெரமா-
 19 றும் தனிப்பிச செழமும் [தெ]ததும் எடு-
 20 ததடக்கிய கரை புள்ளி காணியாடசை
 21 உளபட்ட வகை விட்டுக கொடுத்து[¹] ப-
 22 டைக்கிலாகிலும் கவாச்செயிலும்
 23 பொய முறிவகையாலும் கரண கா-
 24 ரியமெங்கிலும் உடையவன் அல்லா-
 25 தெ அநநியவராயிடும் பெறும்¹பொ-
 26 யிட்டும் ஒலைகொண்டும வருநநாள் அ-
 27 யயொலை பிறமாணமலல[¹] பாட்டமும்
 28 மெலவாரமும் தழிச்சுநகெதழு உளப-
 29 பட காரினு அறபசியும் காததிகையும்
 30 பசானம் பங்குனியும் சித்திரையும்
 31 நெல்லு கொடுக்கிநந தல்லாதெ வி-
 32 லைத்தரத்தினு பணம் கொடுக்கயும்
 33 அருது[¹] வெண்டிக்கையும் அருது[¹] ப-
 34 டிகலம் கடனமுறி உபையம் பவிசை அ-
 35 றறுவராதத்தினு படுகலம் கடன பொ-
 36 கருகையும் வெண்டாம்[¹] தனித்தெண்-
 37 டம் சாவுகாணிக்கை வெண்டா எ-
 38 நதும் சங்கெதப பறறிலும் பெருமபற்றி-
 39 லும் பெறுப்பெறு வெண்டிப பிடி-
 40 சசு உல்பத்தி தடுத்தால தடையிலலை எந-
 41 தும் சங்கெதக்காரா கொண்ட கடத்தி-
 42 னு மெல்வாரம் தகைஞ்ஞ வெண்டிக்கொ-
 43 ளாநந தல்லாதெ தெச தடை தடுக்கருது
 44 எநதும் மெலவாரத்தினும் பாட்டத்தினும்
 45 தன னாண்டைக்குறியும் தலைக்குறியும் கா-
 46 ட்டி ஒப்பிச்சு கொள்ளுமா றும்

Second side

- 47 நமமிடெ ஆஞ-
 48 கௌ பிறப-

- 49 பட்டால் பிரா-
 50 மணர்க்கு செ-

1 Many words are expressed by perplexing symbols
 2 Can it not be நாளில் விரைவகையும்?
 3 பெறுப்பெறு.

51	லவினு நெ-	69	வடசொரி
52	ல் பந்திரு நா-	70	குதிரைப்பநதிவ்-
53	ழியும் சூதகிச-	71	னையிலும் வை-
54	ராகு நெல் ஒன-	72	யாழிவீனையி-
55	பதி நாழியும்	73	லும் கலலுவெ-
56	அல்லாதெ	74	ட்டி நாட்டியதின
57	கொடுக்க-	75	வண்ணம்
58	ருது எநதும்	76	பிறமாண-
59	ஆக இவவ-	77	மாக நட-
60	கைக்கு அர-	78	நது கொ-
61	எடுவூர் அறப-	79	ள்ளுமாறு-
62	சிமீ யெவயு-	80	ம செங்க [1']
63	ம அளையெ	81	யிது வடவ-
64	வூர் வைகா-	82	கெ தெனமிதி
65	சிமீ யெ வயும்	83	நாடமைந-
66	கொடுத்த நீட-	84	த பொககு
67	மெபடிகு வீர- ¹	85	கல்வெட்டு [11']
68	வினையிலும்		

No. 72—A duplicate copy at Idarayakkudi.²

Text.

First side

- 1 சிவமயம்
- 2 கொலலம் அளையெவூர் காததிகை மீர் சய-
- 3 நாட்டுத்தங்கடம் தீதது கலலுவெ-
- 4 ட்டி நாட்டிக்கொடுத்த வகை [1*]
- 5 நாயக்கரிடெ படைவந்து நாஞ்சி-
- 6 னாட்டு அளையெவூர் முதல் பல நா-
- 7 னும் படை வந்து படைக்கெடு வ-
- 8 ருகைக கொண்டு அளசய்கு வூர் பசானம்
- 9 முதல அளசய்கு பசானம் வரைக்கும்
- 10 அஞ்சாலியில் அடைச்சு கணக்கு
- 11 அடைக்க வெண்டும கார்பூவு உம
- 12 பசானம் பூவு யெம் ஆக பூவு யெடு ம நா-
- 13 ம கழிச்சுக் கொடுக்கையில் அஞ்சா-
- 14 விக குததிகைக கொட்டை பதிவுகாணி-
- 15 கைக பந்தத்தினு ஆமணக்கெண்-
- 16 னை வகையும் கச்சையாவினையும்
- 17 பிறநந நாளில விரைவகையும் கூ-
- 18 ட மகாறைச்சும கொடுத்தது மங்க-
- 19 ல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை ஒலைப்பெ-
- 20 ட்டிகளும் சீட்டிகுறிகளும் பொய-

1 The syllable வீர் looks also like மா and the name of the place will then be மாவீர.

2 The place in which this stone is set up is said to have been called the Vidyāli-vijai.

- 21 பபொகையில ஷெ ஓலைகளை யாதா-
 22 மொருத்தா பற்றில் காணுந நாள் கண்-
 23 ட களத்தில் கீறும் கிழியும் பட்டு-
 24 பபொமாமும தன்னிபிசசெழுமும்
 25 தெறத்தும் எடுத்து அடக்கிய கரை
 26 புள்ளி காணியாட்சை யுள்பபட்ட
 27 வகை விட்டுக கொடுத்தா [1*] படை-
 28 க்கிலாகியிலும் கவாச்சை-
 29 யிலும் பொய முறி வகையாகிலு-
 30 ம கரணகாரிய மென்கிலும்

Second side

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| 31 உடையவன அல்- | 46 யும் நெலலு கொ- |
| 32 லாதெ அன்னிய- | 47 டுக்கிரந தலலா- |
| 33 வராயிடமும் பெ- | 48 தெ விலை தாததி- |
| 34 று[ப்]பெறாயிட- | 49 னு பணம் கொ- |
| 35 மும் ஓலை கொண்- | 50 டுககையும் அ- |
| 36 டு வருந நாள் அய- | 51 ருது [1*] வெண்- |
| 37 யொலைப பிறமாண்- | 52 டுககையும் |
| 38 மல்ல [1*] பாட்டமும் | 53 அருது [1*] பநக- |
| 39 மெலவாரமும் | 54 லம் கடனமு- |
| 40 தழிசங்கெதம் | 55 யி உபையம் |
| 41 உளபபட காரி- | 56 பவிசை அ- |
| 42 னு அறபிசியும் | 57 ததுவராதத- |
| 43 காததிகையும் ப- | 58 தினு படுகல- |
| 44 சானம் பைங்- | 59 மும் கடனும் |
| 45 கூனியும் சித்திரை- | |

Third side

- 60 பொக்குகையும் வெண்டா [1*]
 61 தனித்தெண்டம் சாவு-
 62 காணிககை வெண்டா
 63 எந்நம் சங்கெதப்ப-
 64 றறிலும் பெருமபற்றிலும்
 65 பெரு[ம]பெறு முறி வெ-
 66 ண்டிப பிடிச்சு உல-
 67 பபத்தி தடுத்தால் தடை-
 68 யிலலை எந்நம் சங்கெ-
 69 தககாரா கொண்ட கட-
 70 த்தினு மெல்வாரம் திகைஞ-
 71 னு வெணடிச்சு கொ-
 72 ளாளுந தலலாதெ தெசத்-
 73 டை தடுக்கருது எந்நம்
 74 மெலவாரத்தினு பாட்ட-
 75 ததினும் தனனாண்டை-
 76 கருறியும் தலைக்குறியும்
 77 காட்டி ஒபிச்சுக் கொ-

- 78 என்னுமாறும நமமிடை
 79 ஆளுகெள பிறப்பட்டால்
 80 பிராமணாக்கு செலவி-
 81 டு நெல பணினிருநா-
 82 ழியும் சூத்திராக்கு செலவி-
 83 னு நெல ஒன்பதிநாழி-
 84 யும் அல்லாதெ கொடு-
 85 ககருது எந்நும் ஆக இ-
 86 வவகைககு ஆளையி ன்ரு
 87 அறபசி ம யள வயும் அா -
 88 எய்க ன்ரு வைகாசி மீ ம டெவ

Fourth side.

- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| 89 கொடுத்த நீட்டி- | 98 பதின வரைண- |
| 90 னபர ககு [வீர]- | 99 ம பிழைப ணாராக நட- |
| 91 விஜையிலும் | 100 க ந கொள னுமா- |
| 92 வடசெரி குதி- | 101 அ செபந [1] இது |
| 93 ரைப்பநதி வி- | 102 வட வலக தெ- |
| 94 னையிலும் வை- | 103 எமிநி நாடமை- |
| 95 ய்யாழிவினை- | 104 க ந பொருகு கல்- |
| 96 யிலும் கல- | 105 வெட்டு [11] |
| 97 வெட்டி நாட்டி- | |

Translation.

This is the inscription (engraved on a stone and) set up on the 4th day of month of Kārttigai in the (Kollam) year 873

Owing to considerable losses on account of the frequent invasions into Nāñji-nādu of the Nāyaka's army from (Kollam) 852 onwards, we have remitted the arrears of *añjali*-tax on two *kār*-crops and thirteen *piśānam*-crops, or fifteen crops in all, and we have also been pleased to reduce our claims for the taxes—*añjali*, *kuttagar*, *kōttaippadivu-kānikkai*, supply of castor oil for the torches and (presents of ?) clothes, and grain-seed on (royal?) birthdays.

As the boxes, and the *ōlai* documents in them, had been lost by the people in the territory between Mangalam and Manakkudi, we order that, if the documents should be found in the possession of anybody, they should be at once torn to pieces then and there, while those appertaining to *tanippuchēlam*, and properties which have been held by adoptions, service-tenures etc., were to be in force

When, owing to the confusion and plunder made by the forces, *ōlai*-bonds and *kānam*-documents which were lost, are (now) presented by different men other than the rightful owners thereof, they shall not be considered valid.

The *pāttam* and *mēlvāram*, on all lands including *tali-sankētam*, shall be paid only in paddy in the months of Arpaṣi and Kārttigai for the *kār* crops, and Paṅguṇi and Chittirai for *piśānam*-crops, and shall not be paid or demanded in money at commutation rates.

As the *ubhaiya-paliśa* cannot be realised on the *paḍukalam* (lease-deeds) and *kadam-muri* (debt-bonds), it shall not be demanded. The funeral fees and individual fines shall also be excused.

If the properties in *śankētaparru* and *perumparru* are kept under distraint for the dues of the excess tax (*pērāppēru*), this shall not hold good.

On account of the debts incurred by the men of the *śankētam* (land-), the villages shall not be distrained; but after the full *mēlvāram* is paid, the balance can then be requested for adjustment

When the taxes of *mēlvāram* and *pāttam* are paid, the receipt shall be obtained by showing the receipts for that year and the preceding year. When our subordinates go out (on tour), not more than 12 *nāli* shall be given to a brahman for expenses, and 9 *nāli* for a śūdra (per day).

Thus, the people shall act according to the regulation engraved on stones and set up at Vīra-vilai, Kudirappandi-vilai at Vaḍaśēri and Vayyal-vilai, in accordance with the two royal orders issued on the 17th of Arpaśi in the Kollam year 870 and on the 13th of Vaikāśi in the (Kollam) year 871.

This inscription is intended for the residents of the southern sub-division of the northern half of Nāñji-nādu.

No. 73—Olai document of Kollam 878.

- 1 அளையுஞ் அறப்பசி மீர் கட நாடு மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை வட-
செரியில திருவாசலிற் கூடியிருந்து எழுதின மொழியொல யாவிது
[1*] நமமுடய நாடு அரோடெ னு முதல கிளக்கெ இருந்து படையும்
வினையும் வந்தபடியினுலெயும்
- 2 முனாக இருந்து இராசகர உபாதி யுள்ளான படியினுலெயும் நாம கூ-
டியும் குடி வாங்கியும், பிலத்து நமமுடைய சொதகியம் சொதிப்பிச-
சக்கொண்டு இராத படியினுலெயும் நமமுடய உறபத்தியனும் கரை பு-
ளளி காணியாட்செயனும்
- 3 அவா அவரெ எடுத்தது அடக்கிக்கொண்ட படியினுலெயும், அந்தந்த ஊர்த்
துரக்காறா பண்டு முனாளை இலலாத காரியங்கள் நடத்தி உபத்திரிக-
கிறபடியினுலெயும், இராசகரங்களுக்கு நமமுடைய நாட்டிலே இருந-
து சிலா கொளுந் குமண்டெயுஞ் சொல்லி-
- 4 விச சிரிக்கிறபடியினுலெயும், நெடுநாட சென்ற படுகலங்கள் மீட்டு முறிக-
ள்க கொள்ள ஒலைகள் களளப்படுகலங்கள் அவரவரெ பெறும்பெருகக்
கொண்டு குடுத்தது இராசகரங்கள் உபத்திரிககிற படியினுலெயும், அ-
வரவரெ சுவாசனம் இட்ட விடத்திலே
- 5 சைப்பெட்டிகளைத் திறந்து ஒலைகள் கொண்டு வந்து உபத்திரிககிறபடியினு-
லெயும், சிபறப்பைப்பெருமாள் ஆதிக்கெசவப்பெருமாள் வக பதினெ-
ரு மடத்திலும் மடத்துப் பெற்றிமாரும பிள்ளைமாரும கடன் கொ-
ண்ட வக முறியைப் பெறாக இராசகரம் வாங்கிக்கொண்டு நம்முடய
உறபத்திகளை-
- 6 யும் விரைக்கவும் கதா அறுக்கவும் ஒட்டாமல் உபத்திரிககிற படியினுலெ-
யும், சொரா ஒற்றி மீட்ச தரவெணும் என்று உண்டான படியினுலெ-
யும், சிறறொற்றக்கு குறை இலலாமல பணம் பெறவெணு மென்று உ-
ண்டானபடியினுலெயும், நமமுடைய உறபத்திகளைத் தளளுதலையா

க க-

- 7 லலுப்பொட்டு உபத்திரிச்ச படியினாலெயும், நமமுடைய வீடுவகையாயுள்ள ச-
னங்கள் தள்ளுதலையாக பெரும்பெறு கண்டு நிக்கிறபடியினாலெயும்,
நமமுடைய வக பறையடிமைக்கார அவர் அவரே தள்ளுதலையாக இ-
ராசகரங்கள் கூட்டிக் கைய்யாளுகிற
- 8 படியினாலெயும் மற்றும் பலகூட்டம் உபத்திரவங்கள் ஒண்டாணபடியினா-
லெயும், நாம் கூடியும் குடிவாங்கியும் பிலக்கு நின்று நிருபவிச்சக-
கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [14] நமமுடைய நாட்டுக்குள்ளு 'ஒருவனுக்காகி-
லும் ஒரு ஊருக்காகிலும் ஒரு பிடிகைக்காகிலும்
- 9 நாட்டுக்காகிலும் ஒரு காரியகருமங்கள் வனபாய டண்டாணலும், பத்து
பதினாறு பணம் சிலவளிறத் தொண்டாணலும், நாட்டுப் பொதுவிலை
குடுத்து நின்று நிககு நிலைக்கு நின்று கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [15] ஒரு
ஊரிலே நாட்டிலே ஒரு காரியகருமம் உண்டானால் உபத்திரமுள்ள
பொகள்
- 10 பொதுததலத்திலே வந்து கூடி அநதநதப் பிடாசையில் வந்து சொன்ன
உடனே நாம் எல்லொரும வந்து கூடி நிககு நிலை நின்று நிருபவிச்சக
கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [16] இந்த வகைப்படியாய் இந்த மொழிலைப்ப-
டிக்கு வந்து கூடிப் பிலவாமல இயாதா மொருவர் கூட்டத்துக்கு வா-
ராக்குநதால்
- 11 வாராத பொகழை நாட்டு சொத்தியம் சொதிச்சுப்பொடுவொமாகவும்
[17] இந்த மொழி ஒலைப்படி நயினா தாணுவாலாய்பெருமான நயினா
சீபாதம் தப்பாமல மொழிலை எழுதிககொண்டோம் வடவகை
தென் மீதி நாடமைந்த ஆறுமுகப்பெருமான எழுத்து [18]

Translation.

On the 1st day of Arpaśi of the (Kollam) year 878, the district (*nādu*) from Mangalam to Manakkudi met in the sacred temple at Vadaśeri and passed the following resolution —

As troops and trouble came from the east; as there has been trouble from the State for some time; as we have not been united in exercising our right of protesting against coercion etc., as others have misappropriated our properties, holdings and other hereditary rights, as the agents of the respective villages have been oppressing us with unusual innovations; as some individuals of this division have carried false reports against us to the royal authorities; as royal officers are harassing us on account of the forged *padukalam* deeds which several persons have produced in place of old *padukalam* documents and discharged bonds; as they have forced open some boxes and are harassing us with the documents (extracted therefrom); as the government have taken hold of the documents executed by the *pōttis* and the *pillaimār* of the eleven *mathams* belonging to Śrī Padmanābha-Perumāl and Ādikēśava-Perumāl and are preventing us from cultivating or harvesting our fields; as we have had to redeem the perpetual mortgages (*śōrā-orrī*), as the whole amounts have to be realised on sub-mortgages (*śirōrrī*); as our holdings are being arbitrarily determined by boundary-stones; as our houses are being dis-trained unjustly and their inmates evicted; as the government officials force our *paraya* (slave-) labourers to work for them as they please; and as many other similar calamities have befallen us:—

We resolve to act in unison and to make a bold stand even by emigration, and thus protect our affairs

If any untoward things should happen to any individual, village, *pidūgarai* or *nādu* in this district (Nāñji-nādu), we shall meet from our common funds an expense even up to ten or sixteen *panam* and shall unswervingly stand upon our right. If anything occurs in a village or in the sub-division, the aggrieved party shall meet in a public place and report the matter to the *pidūgarikkār*, and we shall all then assemble together and resolve on what has to be done under the circumstances. If anyone fail to attend such meetings as required by these regulations, and thus weaken the party, he shall be subject to enquiry by the assembly of the *nāttār*.

According to these regulations, this document has been drafted and sworn on the sacred feet of Tānumālaya-Perumāḷ.

This is the writing of Ārumuga-Perumāḷ of the southern portion of the Nāñji-nādu north

No 74— Olai document of Kollam 889 Kulasekhara-Perumal.

- 1 அள அமக வுநு மாஃளி மீர் மிசவ நட்டு மவகல் முதல் மணக்குடி வரை இரண்டு வகை நட்டும ஆசிராமத்துக் கொவிக் கலிக கூடி யிருந்து ஒப்புரவு ஒலை எழுதிக்கொண்ட பரிசாவுது [1] நமமுடய நாட்டிலே
- 2 பலபடபலபட அரமனைக் குதிரையும் இராணுவம் வந்து அழிச்சதிலெயும், நாம கொள காணி உறபதக்கெல்லாம் அஞ்சாலி மெல்வாரம் இறுத்து நட்டு தொண்ண நாள முதல் நடந்து வந்து இருக்கவே கொட்டைப்பண்ணம்
- 3 வையாவரியும் வைச்சு இறுத்தபடியிலெயும் நாடு அறவெ நொந்து செட்டுப் பொய் யிருக்கவே இனிமெல்பட்டு தம்பிரான் குலசேகரப்பெருமான தம்பிரான் திருவுள்ளம் பற்றி அருளிக் கற்பிச்ச படிக்கு நடந்து சட்டாக இனிமெல்பட்டு
- 4 அஞ்சாலியும் மெல்வாரமுமாயிட்டு உள்ள இறையும் இறுத்து வருகிறதெ அல்லாமல் சொட்டைப்பண்ண மெங்கிலும் வையாவரி எங்கிலும் இறுக்கிறதில்ல என அப்படியிருக்க கொட்டைப்பண்ண மெங்கிலும் வையாவரி எங்கிலும் வைக்க-
- 5 வெணு மென்று இராசகரக்கிலே யிருந்து உபத்திரிகருவ காலம் நாம கூடியும் குடிவாங்கியும் நின்று நிறுபய்ச்சுக் கொள்ளுவோமாகவும் [14] நமமுடய நாட்டித் தானமாயிட்டு உள்ளதெல்லாம் பண்டு முன்னாள் நமமுடய காரண-
- 6 வமார நடத்திவந்தபடிக்குத் தானமானமாய உள்ளதெல்லாம் நடத்திக் கொள்ளுவோமாகவும் [14] ஆனவான்ப பிறப்பட்டுத் உண்டானால் அண்ணாவிமாருக்கு பந்திர நாளியும் நாயமாருக்கு ஒன்பது நா-
- 7 ளி நெல்லும் ஆக விருதி குடித்தப் பொதுவோமாகவும் [14] செவ்வு கார கொட்டைப்பண்ணம் அனுச சகுடிச்சைக்குக் கொளவிக் காறா கணக்குமபடியுக்கு அடிச்சபண்ணம் அடைக்கிறதெ அல்லாமல் ஒழுக்கு என்றும் கணக்குப் பிசு-

- 8 எனறும் சொன்னதெ உண்டானாலும், நாம கூடியும் குடிவாங்கியும் பி-
ததுக கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [1⁺] இப்படி நடந்துவாற விடதகில் ஒரு
முடாகையிலே ஆகிலும் ஒரு ஊரிலே ஆகிலும் ஒருததன பெரிலே ஆ-
கிலும் இராசகரஉபாதி கொண்டு செத யாதம்
- 9) வந்ததெ உண்டானால் நாட்டுப்பொதுவில் சிலவு கொடுத்து நிறுத்திக
கொள்ளுவொமாகவும் [1⁺] இந்தப்படி நடந்து பொதுமிடத்தில் இ-
யாதா மொருத்தராகிலும் இராசகரதங்குக்கு உளக் குடுத்து நாட்டு-
ததானத்தை அழிச்ச பொகளை நாட்டுச்சொத்தியம்
- 10 சொதிச்ச பொடுவொமாகவும் [1⁺] இந்தப்படிக்கு நயினா தானுமாலயப்
பெருமாள நயினா சீபாத்மெ தப்பாது நயினா பூததைசுவாமி சீபா-
த்மெ தப்பாது இந்தப்படிக்கு இந்த ஒப்பரவு ஒலை எழுதிக கொ-
ண்டொம் வடவகை செனமீதி
- 11 நாடமைந்து ஆறுமுகப்பெருமாள எழுத்து [11⁺]

Translation.

On the 14th day of the month of Mārgaḷi in the (Kollam) year 889, the residents of the two *nāḍus* (sub-divisions) between Mangalam and Manakkudi, having met in the temple(?) at Āśrāmam, drafted the following agreement.

As royal cavalry and troops have repeatedly and in large numbers invaded (our territory) and caused great damage (to us), and as we have also been obliged to pay *kōttaippanam* and other intolerable taxes, though from the time this land came into existence (*i. e.*, from time immemorial) we have been continuing to pay only *aṅḡāli* and *mēlvāram* on the produce of lands under us, the land has suffered very grievously: we shall therefore continue to pay only the *aṅḡāli* and the *mēlvāram* taxes according to the royal order of king Kulaśēkhara-Perumāl-Tambirān but not any *kōttaippanam* and other unusual taxes. If however, royal officers coerce us into paying *kōttaippanam* and other taxes, we shall protest by united action, and, if necessary by leaving the country, we shall honourably retain all the privileges and rights, which our *kāranavar* (ancestors) had enjoyed in olden days.

If palace officials come, we shall give them allowances at the rate of 12 *nāḷi* only for each Annāvi (personal attendant of the king) and 9 *nāḷi* only for each Nāyar among them.

As regards the balance of *kōttaippanam* for the *kār* crop of the above year, we should only pay arrears as per account of the *kēlvi*-officer; but if they should demand any items as due according to the revenue accounts or as due to omission of entries in accounts, we shall show our determination by united protest or by leaving the place.

While acting in this manner, if by the action of the Government, any *pidāgai* or village, or any single individual, is subjected to any loss, we shall jointly contribute towards the expenses and stop the injustice. When the affairs are being conducted in this manner, if any one should connive with the government at impairing the privileges or rights of the country, we shall subject him to a public enquiry in the *nāḍu* (assembly).

We have thus drafted this bond of union, taking oath at the feet of god Tānumālaya-Perumāḷ and god Bhūthanāthasvāmin not to swerve (from it).

Signed Ārumuka-Perumāḷ, of the southern division and the northern portion of Nāṇṇi-nādu

No. 75— Isantimangalam olai document of Kollam 894.

- 1 அரகூயச னு வைகாசி மீ யருவ நாடு மங்கல முதல மணக்குடி வரை சாந்திமங்கலத்து திருவாசலில் இரண்டுவகை நாடுங் கூடியிருந்து எழுதின மொழிமாற ஒலையாவிது [1*]
- 2 அயஉ னு முதல ஆண்டுதொறுங் குதிரையுங் படையும் வந்து இறுத இறையும் இறுத்து வையாத வரியும் வசக தெய்வதானை பிரமதான மானிப மடப்பிறத்ததுக்கு வையாவரியும் வசக இதற
- 3 இறுத்து பூசை முடடிப பொனபடியினுலெயும், சீனிவாசராகு¹ இநநாட்டில ஆடுமாடும நிரை சாயசக நாட்டு அம்பலகாறரையும் பிடிசக கொண்டு பொன படியினுலெயும், பெற்றறெட்டியென நான் -
- 4 தொறும நாட்டிலெ மாடு நிரை சாயசக கொண்டு பொனபடியினுலெயும், அனநதொகிரயககா தெனமீதி நாட்டிலெ நூல தாலியும் பறிசக பெண்ணுமபிள்ளை காதுகளு மறுத்து
- 5 மாடு நிரை சாயசக நாட்டிலெயுள்ள நெல்லும் கித்தும் வாரி நாட்டிலெ மெட்டுக்காவலும் ஊதொறும பொட்டு நெல்லும் கித்தும் வாரிகித்துக கொண்டுபொன படியினுலெயும், சிவநதிரத்தில் சுவாமி-
- 6 யுட சங்கெத மானபடியினுலெ அவிட மொரு ஒதுக்கிட மென்று சொல்லி நாட்டிலுண்டான பெட்டிபிறமாணமும் பொன வெள்ளி வெங்கல பாததிறமும் சீலை பிடவையளும் நெல்லும் கித்தும் படைட்டத்தி
- 7 கொண்டு பொட்ட வகை எல்லாம் கொள்ளை யாடினபடியினுலெயும், சிவநதிரமும் ஆச்சிராமமும் தீப்பெட்ட படியினுலெயும், கடையறை முறியசக கொண்டு பொனபடியினுலெயும், இநதப்படி செதப்பட்டு
- 8 நயினாருட சங்கெத மளிஞ்ச படியினுலெயும் இநதப்படி பல கூட்டம் உபத்திரம் நாட்டிலெ உண்டான படியினுலெயும், தம்பிரான கலபிசக காரியககாறரும் தொருப சனங்களும நாட்டுத்தங்கடம் தீத்து
- 9 குடியிருத்தாத படியினுலெ, நாடு மங்கல முதல மணக்குடி வரை கூயஉ னு கார முதல் பயிரிடாமல் தரிசு பொடுகையில, இநத தங்கடங்க ளெல்லாம் தம்பிரான கலபிசக காரியககாறரும் தொருப சனங்களும்
- 10 தீர்ப்பிசக தந்து நாட்டை குடியிருத்தினுலெ பயிர வெய்வொமாகவும் [1*] நாட்டுத்தானமாக உள்ளதெல்லாம் காரணவமார நெரத்தில் நடநதபடியெ நடந்து கொளவொமாகவும் [1*] நாட்டிலெ யாதா மொருவராகிலும் இராச-
- 11 கரத்துக்கு உள்க்குடுத்து நாட்டுத்தானத்தை உள்ளழிசச பொகள வீட்டொடுங் கூட்டொடுஞ் சொதிசசக கொளவொமாகவும் [1*] இநதப்படி நடக்குமிடத்தில நாட்டிலெ ஒரு பிடாகையிலாகிலும் ஒரு ஊரிலாகிலும் ஒருவன

1 Śrīnivāsa Rao

2 Probably Pedda-Reddy.

12 வீட்டிலாகிலும் உபததிர முண்டாளுல நாட்டுத்தானமாக கூடியுங் குடி வாங்கியும் பிலத்துக்கொளவொமாகவும் [1^k] இப்படி வடவகை தெனமீதி நாட்டமைத்து ஆறுமுக பெருமாள் எழுத்தது [11^k]

Translation.

On the 15th day of the Vaikāsi month in the year 894, the residents of the two *nāḍus* (sub-divisions) between Maṅgalam and Manakkudi having met at Īsāntimangalam drew up the following unshakeable resolutions:

As the royal cavalry and troops had made annual visitations from the year 82 (Kollam 882), and had levied unprecedented taxes and other unbearable extortions on the *dēvadānam*, *bāhmadēyam*, *mānyam* and *madappuram* lands, and as worship (in temples) had been hindered thereby; as Śrīnivāsa-Rāvu had lifted cattle herds and captured the *ambalakkār* also; as Peddā-Reḍḍi had been similarly carrying away herds of cattle from the country; as Anantōji-Nāyakkar had deprived (women) even of their marriage-badges, ruptured their ear lobes (while forcibly removing the ornaments in them), lifted herds of cattle and plundered paddy and seed-grain from the country and had also appointed *mēttukkāval* in every village for further carrying off paddy and seed-grain; as all the boxes containing cadjan deeds, gold, silver, brass vessels, articles of apparel, paddy and seed-grain of the whole district which had been deposited at Suchīndram in the hope that it would be a place of safety being within the *saṅkētam* of the god, had all been looted; as Suchīndram and Āsrāmam had been set on fire; as all the shops (therein) had been looted; as, in this manner, even the *saṅkētam* of the god Nayanār had suffered, as numerous other similar troubles had happened to us in this district; and (finally) as the officers and *svarūpakkkār* of the king have not set right these disturbances of the country to enable us to settle down in peace—

the tract of country from Mangalam to Manakkudi had been left uncultivated from the *kār*-season of 92 (Kollam 892).

If the king issues orders to his agents and officials to set right the disturbed state of the country and settle us peacefully, we shall begin cultivation. Our prerogatives shall be as they were formerly in the time of our ancestors. If any one connives with the Government to undermine our established rights, he and his whole family shall be answerable to us.

While conducting ourselves in this manner, if, in this district, any *pidāgaṇ*, village or house be subjected to any trouble, we shall put a united front and, if necessary, emigrate (elsewhere).

(This is) the signature of Ārumuga-Perumāḷ of the southern sub-division and the northern half (of Nāñji-nādu)

No. 76— Olai document of Kollam 896.

- 1 கிழக்க நினும் வன ஹஸனும் சுதிரெயும் செயுகம் ஒழிச்சு கிழக்கை
- 2 ஸயக்கையும் செயு [1^k] ஸொருவயனனும் ஹஸனும் ஸெனிச்சு-
திருவாட்டாரம்

- 3 എത്തിടറെ യെണ്ടുന്നതും ഒക്കെയും പരഞ്ഞുതെഴിഞ്ഞു കീഴ്മരുചാതി
വചിയ അമാവെ-റ
- 4 നെരത്തു നടന്നു വന്ന പീരകാരത്തിനു ഒക്കെയും നടക്കത്തക്ക പണ്ണമാ-
യിട്ടു
- 5 പരഞ്ഞു തെഴികെയും ചെയ്തു [I*] താങ്ങും എല്ലാവരും കീഴ്മരുചാ-
തിയെപ്പൊലെ
- 6 നാഞ്ചിനാട്ടു വന്നു കടിയും ഇരുന്ന കാലതാമസം വന്നു പൊകാതെ കണ്ടു
നാടും ചെച്ചയിതു
- 7 പയീര് ചെച്ചയികയും വെണം [I*] ഇച്ചെയ്തിൽ ക്കു എണ്ണററു തൊണ്ണററു
ആറാമാണ്ടു മാചിമാതം
- 8 ഇരുപത്തു ആറാം വയതി കല്പിത്തമെക്കു തൊവീരി നാടമൈത്ത
പെരുകു
- 9 നീട്ടു ഏഴുതിവിട്ടു എന്നു തിരുവുള്ളമായ നീട്ടു [II*]

Translation.

"The army and cavalry which had come from the east had been disbanded and sent back to the east. All the members of the *svarūpam* having together reached Tiruvāttār and after hearing the representations as to what was needed, decided that matters shall be conducted in the same way as they were in the time of the *ammāvan* (the previous king)

All of you shall therefore come back to Nāñju-nādu, reside there, and shall, without delay, fix the time and begin the cultivation".

This is the order which was ordered to be issued accordingly, to the inhabitants of the southern sub-division (of Nāñju-nādu) on the 26th day of the month of Māsī in the (Kollam) year 896.

No. 77—Olai document of Kollam 898.

அாகுல அ ன் ஆனி மீர் உயிடுவ நாயக்கா அபபயயனும் ராணுவம் வந்த
வக்ககு மெலவாயம் உபயம் பவிசை வக்ககு கொட்டை கக்கு எ-வ
களிசச வக்ககு நீதி [I*]

- 1 நாயக்கா வகை இராணுவங் குதிரையும் திருச்சினனாபபளியில் நிறதும்
புறப்பட்டு நாஞ்சினாட்டிலே ராததனகாட்டு வெளியில் அபபயயனும்
- 2 வந்து பாளையஞ் செயது இரக்கையில் பறைஞ்ஞ அயப்பான நாளத தாம-
தம் வரிக கொண்டு விததும் நெல்லும் பட கிடத்தி இட்டு வந்தம்
கொண்டு
- 3 நாட்டார ஆசிராமதது வந்து கூடித் தங்கடம் பறகயில் எண்ணுறறுத்
தொண்ணுற்று எட்டாமாண்டு பிசானம் மெல்வாரவும் உபபயம் ப-
விசையும்
- 4 மவநல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை தளிசங்கெதம் பெருமபற்று உளப்பட
கொட்டை ஒன்றுக்குக் கால் கொட்டை நெல் கழிக்கையில்
- 5 கொட்டைக்கு முக்கால் வீதம் அளக்குமாரும் சொல்லி எண்ணுறறுத்-
தொண்ணுற்று எட்டாமாண்டு ஆனிமாதம் இருபத்தஞ்சாந தெயதி

- 6 கலப்பிததமைக்கு வடவகை தெனமீதி நா. -மைநத பொகரு நீட்டு எழுதி விடு ஏநது திருவுளமாய நீட்டு.

Translation.

On the 25th of the month of Āṇi in the year 898, this is the order remitting the tax of paddy under the heads *mēlvāram* and *ubhāyāṁ-paliśa* on account of the visits of the Nāyaka troops under Appayyan

While the Nāyaka troops and cavalry under Appayyan starting from Trichinopoly were encamped on the plain called Īttankādu in Nāñji-nādu, as considerable plunder of paddy and seed-gram occurred, owing to the delay of some days in sending them word, when the *nāttārs* having met at Āśrānam, complained about this trouble, it was ordered (by the king) that for the *paśānam* crop of the year 898, $\frac{1}{4}$ *kōttai* of paddy shall be remitted on every *kōttai* of *mēlvāram* and *ubhāyāṁ-paliśa* income on all temple (*saṅkētam*) and *perumbarru* lands in the territory from Mangalam to Manakkudi.

Thus, as it was decided that for every *kōttai*, only three-fourths shall be measured, this was the order which was issued to the southern portion of the northern sub-division (of Nāñji-nādu) on the 25th day of Āṇi in the (Kollam) year 898

No. 78—Kadukkarai olai-document of Kollam 898.

- 1 அனகய அ ஹு காததிகை ம ம டகவ இரண்டு வகை நாடும் மககல முதல மணக்குடிவரைக்கும் கடுக்கரையூர் திருவாசலிலே கூடியிருந்து ஒப்பு ரவு மொழி ஒலை எழுதிக்கொண்டபடி [1*] முன கூடு ஹு பசான வரைக்கு
- 2 நாட்டிலே வயயா வரியும் செயயா முறையும் நடத்திவிசு படியினாலே, கூயி ஹு காரும் பசானமும் தரிசு பொட்டு இரண்டு வகை நாடும் மலைக்கு களக்கெ குடி வாங்கிப் பொன்படியி-
- 3 னாலே, தம்பிரான கல்பிசு பொற்றியும் பண்டாலையும் தொருவ சனங்கனம் எல்லாவரும் கூடிப், பூதப்பாண்டிக்கு தம்பிரான எழுந்தருளி, இரண்டு வகை நாட்டையும் வருத்திவிசு, கூயி ஹு ப-
- 4 சான வரைக்குள்ள தங்கடமும் தீதது, ஏறபெருக்கு நீட்டுத்தநது, வெங்கலமுரசும் கொம்பும் வெள்ளி கெட்டின பொந்தியும் கலபிசுத் தநது, கூயி ஹு கார முதல அஞ்சாலி மெல்வாரம் பண்டு முன்னாள்
- 5 நடந்தபடிக்கு பற்றிக்கொண்டு வையயா வரியும் செயயா முறையும் கொட்டைப்பணமும் மாததாலபணமும் நாட்டிலே வைக்கிறதிலை யென்று கலபிசு, நீட்டும் தநது, பண்டு முன்னாள் நாட்டுத்தானமா-
- 6 க உள்ள சொதிகையும் சொதிச்சு நாட்டுத்தானமாக நடந்துகொள்ளும்படிக்கு கலபிகையில, அந்தப்படிக்கு நாட்டுக்குப் பிளைசு பொகன நாட்டுச்சொத்தியம் சொதிசுபடியினாலே, தம்பிரான கல்பிசு
- 7 பிடாகைக்கு இரண்டு வீடு வெட்டித்தள்ளிவிசுபடியினாலேயும், கூயி ஹு கார பசானம் அஞ்சாலியும் மெல்வாரமும் கண்டுழவு பாட்டமும் தொருவ சனங்கனம் சிவசயில முதலியாரும் குதிரையும் இராணுவம் வந்து நெருங்கி வெண்டிப்படியினாலேயும், தம்பிரான் கல்பிசு மெலதிக மாததால முப்பதுபணம் தெயவதானம்

- 8 பிரமதானம் கண்டுழவும் தரிசுகளும் உளபட பணம் வாங்கிபடியினு-
லெயும், கூடி அருகா பரிரிடுகையில் வடவகை தெனவிதி யெ-
ல்லாம தீஞ்சு கரிஞ்சு பொகையில் அரைவிளைச்சல் காலவிளைச்சல்
உளளதுக்கு
- 9 கொட்டைக்கு நூற்றிருபதஞ்சு பணம் நாட்டுதநானத்தை அளிச்சு த-
னிததனியெ அடிச்சு வாங்கிபடியினுலெயும், மதிகண்ட வகைக்கு
பாதிவாரம் எனறதுக்கு இருவாரம் கொண்டு பொன்படியினுலெயும்,
- 10 நல்லூர் வில்லிபற்று வகைக்கு தரிசுகு நெல்லு வாங்கிபடியினுலெ-
யும், சிறிய கண்டுழவு வகையில் அனாமகெதநல்லூர் வீரவநல்லூர்-
ரில் பாட்டம் அளநது சிடடியும் தந்திருக்க மறுபடி தூக்காறருக்கு
சிடடியும் எழுதி-
- 11 ப பாட்டம் வெண்டின படியினுலெயும், தாபிரான கலபிச்சுக் கொட்டை-
ப்பணத்துக்கும் மாததால் பணத்துக்கும் எழுதிவிச்ச முறிபருக்கு
வைச்சுதென்று கருவுகாததுப பிள்ளைமா கணக்கிலும் எழுதிவிச்ச
நீட்டிம் தந்தபடி-
- 12 க்கு நில்லாமல தளவாய ஆள விட்டு முறிவகைக்குப் பணம் வெண்டினப-
டியினுலெயும், உறபத்தி வைச்சுதென்று எழுதினதை தீர்ப எடுத்து
உழுதுகொண்ட படியினுலெயும், காடு கரை புஞ்செ பயிரிட்டதுக்கு கட-
மைப்பணம் அடைச்சு
- 13 இருக்கப் பாட்டம் பணம் அடிச்சு வெண்டின படியினுலெயும், கூடி அருகா
புஞ்சை பட்டிருக்கு நாலிலொன்று வாரம் அடிச்சு வெண்டின படியினு-
லெயும், நாற்றடிக்கு கொட்டைப்பணம் அடைக்கச் சொல்லி உபத்தி-
ரிச்சு நெல்லும் வித்தும்
- 14 புருங்கலும் அரிசியும் பொன வெள்ளியும் வெங்கிலபாததிரமும் சீலைய-
ளும் உழவெற்றி கவாச்சை யிட்டுக் கொண்டு பொன்படியினுலெயும்,
எழு மளவராயமாரையும் கறக்குளத்துக்கு தம்பிரான திருமுன்னெ
அனுப்பித் திருமனதிலும்
- 15 அறிவிச்சும பொற்றி பண்டாலை தொருவசனங்க ளெல்லாவா கடவும்
சொல்லியும் மறுபடி நல்லது கலப்பிச்சு உபத்திரம் மிறுத்தித் தாரா-
த படியினுலெயும், முத்துப்பிள்ளையும் குதிரையும் இராணுவம் தெரிச-
ரங்கொப்பிலெ வந்திருந்து
- 16 பதிநாலு கொட்டைவாசலும் அடைச்சு மூன்று நாளாயி பசுக்கள மாடு-
கள் தண்ணீர் குடியாமல் அடைச்சு பெண்ணும் பிள்ளை தண்ணீர்
கொர வந்த விடத்திலெ குடங்கையும் அடிச்சு கடைச்சு
- 17 நெல்லும் விறதும் வாரின படியினுலெயும், இரண்டு வகை நாடும கடுக்க-
ரையிலெ குடிவாங்கி யிருக்க முத்துப்பிள்ளையும் சிறறம்பலம்பண்டார-
மும நூறு செவுகருமாயி வந்து எங்களை வீளைஞ்சு பிடி-
- 18 சசு அடிச்சு பணம் வைப்பிக்க வருகையில் நாங்க பயந்து மலை கரை
யெறிப் பொன்படியினுலெ, கடுக்கரையூரில் நாலு கொட்டைவாச-
லும் அடைச்சுக்கொண்டு ஊரொக்க கொள்கை-
- 19 க் கடுகையில், நாங்க ளெல்லாரும் அழகியபாண்டியபுரம் கீளபால செம்ப-
கராமன் புதுலூர் கலமடத்திலெ வந்திருந்து கூடி வைச்ச மொளியா-
வது[11*] நாற்றடிக்கு கொட்டைப்பணம் வெச்சுக் குடுக்கிற திலெ-

- 20 யென்றும் கூய் அந்நூல் பசானமுதல் பண்டு முன்னாள் நடந்தபடிக்குள்ள அஞ்சாலியும் மெலவாரமும் குடுத்தது வருகிறதெ அல்லாமல் கொட்டைப்பணமாகிலும் தெய்வதானம் பிரமதானம் அடக்கியும் அஞ்சாலி
- 21 மெலவாரம் அடக்கியும் மாததாலபணம் வைக்க கல்பிச்சரால் நாம் இரண்டுவகை நாமும் கூடி கூடி அந்நூல் பசான முதலுக்கு இட்ட வெள்ளாமை அளிஞ்சு பொருளும் நாம் கூடியும் குடிவாங்கியும் நாட்டுத்தானம்.
- 22 மாக பிலத்தக கொளவொமாகவும[11'] அப்படியிருக்க நம்முடைய நாட்டிலே ஒரு பிடாகைக்காற ரானாலும் ஒரு ஊர்க்காறரானாலும் ஒரு அம்பலக்காறரானாலும் பத்துப்பணம் கைக்கூலி வாங்கி யாகி-
- 23 லும் உள்மொழி குடுத்தாகிலும் வையயாவரி செயயாமுறைக்கு வரி கொடுத்தால் வீட்டொடும் கூட்டொடும் சொதிசசு கொளவொமாகவும [11*] நாம் இப்படி நாட்டுத்தானமாமபடியே கூடியும் கூடிவொங்கியும் யிருக்கிறபொது
- 24 முன் நாட்டிலே வந்து அம்பலக்காறரை வெட்டினதுக்கும் வெட்டி கொணரதுக்கும் தானம் வருத்திக்கொளவொமாகவும[11'] நம்முடைய நாட்டிலே யிருந்து அம்பலக்காறராயிட்டொள்ள பொகளை விதுரம் பரிக்க ஒண்ணுது என்றும் இப்படி நாட்டுத்தானமா யிருக்கெ
- 25 இராசகரம் ஒரு பிடாகயிலே ஆகிலும் ஒரு ஊரிலே ஆகிலும் ஒருத்தன வீட்டிலே ஆகிலும் நெல்லும் ஹிறும் வாரிசு செதப் பட்டால் முதல் பொதுவிலே யிருந்து முதல் வெச்சுக குடுப்பொமாகவும[11'] இரண்டு நாமும் குடி
- 26 வாங்கிப்பொலை இயாதா மொருத்த ரானாலும் ஊருக்குள்ளே யிருந்து மணியக்காரன கையிலே அகப்பட்டுப் பணம் வையத்தால் அவனுக்குக் கரும்ச்செதமும் வைச்சுக குடாமல் நாட்டுசு சொத்தியமும் விட்டொடும் குடியொடு-
- 27 ம சொதிசசுப் பொடுவொமாகவும[11'] முன் நாட்டுத்தானமாக சொதிசசுதுக்கு முன்னு பிடாகையிலும் பிடாகைக்கு இரண்டு வீடு தம்பிரான் கலபிச்சு வெட்டித் தள்ளிவிச்சதுக்கு நாட்டுத்தானமாக தம்பிரான் திருமனதிலும் அறிவி-
- 28 சசு செதப்பட்ட முதல் வைப்பிச்சுக குடுப்பொமாகவும [11'] கொவ்ககலிலே யிருந்து வைச்சுத் தாராவிட்டால் நம்முடைய நாட்டிலே யிருந்து முதல் வைச்சுக குடுப்பொமாகவும[11'] நாட்டிலே யிருந்து மொழிக்குத்துப் பணம் வையாமலி-
- 29 ருக்க இராசகரத்தொடே கூடி இரண்டு நாட்டிலே யிருக்கிற பொயாதா மொருத்த ரானாலும் மணியம் செய்து கணக கெழுதி வச்சுத் தன்மடை சொன்னதெ உண்டானாலும் அவனை வீட்டொடும் கூட்டொடும் சொதிசசு பொடுவொ-
- 30 மாகவும[11'] பண்டு முன்னாள் நடந்த தீனத்துமபடிக்கு தம்பிரான் கல்பிச்சு நீட்டும் தந்தருக்க நாட்டிலே யிருந்து மொழியும் வைச்சிருக்க நாட்டிலே யாதா மொருத்தா ஆயித் மெடுத்தது செவ்ககிற பெரை வீட்டொடும் கூட்டொடும்
- 31 சொதிசசுப் பொடுவொ மாகவும[11'] அவனவன் சாதிமுறை தப்பி நடக்கிற பெரையும் சொதிசசுப் பொடுவொமாகவும[11'] இரண்டு நாட்டிலேயும் ஒரு ஊரிலே பளையம் செய்திருந்ததெ உண்டானால் தம்பிரான் திருமனதிலே அறிவிச்சும

- 32 கூடசு சொல்லியும் நாழும் கூடியும் குடிவாங்கியும் பானயம் செய்யாமல் விலக்கிட்டு கொள்வொமாகவும்[*] இந்நதப்படிக்கு நாட்டுதொனமாக நடந்துகொள்வொமாகவும்[1⁺] இதுக்கு யாதா மொருததா நாட்டுதொனத்தை அழிச்சு அக்தம்
- 33 நிருவிச்ச பொகள் கெனகைக்கரையில் காரம்பசுவை கொன்ற தொஷ்ததிலே பொவாராகவும் நாட்டுக்காரியத்தைத் தானவாக நடத்தின பொகள் கெனகைக்கரையிலே காரம்பசுவைத் தாவம் செய்த பலத்தை அடைவா ராகவும்[11⁺]
- 34 இப்படி நாட்டுதொனமாக நடந்து கொள்கிற துக்க சுவாமி தாணுமாலையபெருமான பெரிலாணை பூதவினகத்து பெரி லாணை தபாது[*] இந்நதப்படிக்கு ஒப்புரவு மொழிமாறு ஒலை எழுதிக் கொண்டொடம் வடவகை தெனமீதி நாடமைந்து ஆறுமுகபெருமான எழுதது [11⁺]

Translation.

On the 16th day of Kārttigai in the (Kollam) year 898, the residents of the two divisions (north and south) between Maṅgalam and Manakkudi, having met at Kadukkaraiyūr, the following resolution of union was written:—

As on account of the heavy taxes and the cruel treatment to which we were subjected till the *piśāṇam*-harvest of 895 M. E. (1720 A. D.), we of both the divisions, were forced to leave our fields uncultivated during both the *kār* and *piśāṇam* seasons in 896 M. E. (1721 A. D.) and retreat to the east of the mountains, the king (*tambirāṇ*) together with the Pōttimārs, Paṇḍālas and the members of the *svaṛūpam*, was pleased to camp at Bhūtappāṇḍi, and summoning the people of both the divisions before him, redressed all their grievances till the *piśāṇam*-crop of 96 (Kollam 896 = 1721 A. D.), gave a royal writ to all of us (to that effect), and as a mark of special favour presented us with a brass-drum, a horn, and a *ponḍi* (sword or club inlaid with silver). Another writ was also issued cancelling all coercive taxes such as *kōttar-panam*, and *māttāl-panam* and acts of petty tyranny in the land, and authorising the levy of only the original imposts of *aṇḍāl* and *mēlvāram*, and permitting the assembly of the *nāttārs* of Nāñji-nāḍu to continue to exercise the original privileges that had been in their enjoyment from a long time.

Accordingly, when the assembly held an enquiry against those who had infringed its laws, as the sovereign ordered the destruction of two residents in each sub-division (*pidāgar*) as a punishment on us;

as the members of the *svaṛūpam* and Śivaśaila-Mudaliar came with their cavalry and troops and pressed us hard for the payment of *aṇḍāl*, *mēlvāram* and *kandulavu-pāttam* on the *kār* and *piśāṇam* crops of 97 (Kollam 897);

as the sovereign himself levied (a tax of) thirty *panam* per *mā* on all lands including *dēvadānam*, *brahmadānam*, *kandulavu* and even on waste lands,

as another tax of 125 *panam* per *kōttar* was also collected in opposition to the decisions of the assemblies from the poor ryots on even the half and quarter yields of the *kār*-crop of Kollam 898, though it was a complete failure in both the northern and southern divisions;

as they realised double the amount of *vāram* on lands which, according to the yield, could have been assessed at only half;

as a similar exaction in paddy was levied on the uncultivated lands in Nallūr and Villiparū,

as the officials of the king unjustly demanded *pūttam* on all the small *landulavu* lands in the villages of Anumakētanallūr and Vīravanallūr, even though the sums had already been remitted and receipts obtained,

as the Dalavāy sent his men to dun the immediate payment of *māttālpānam*, *kōttaip-pānam* and other imposts on the deeds which the king had already declared by entries in the accounts to be void,

as the government appropriated to itself those lands which had been entered (in the registers) as having been cultivated by the ryots,

as *pāttam*-rent was demanded on *kādu*, *karai* and dry lands, on which the usual taxes had already been paid;

as one-fourth share was demanded on the *kār*-crop of 98 (Kollam 898);

as *kōttaip-pānam* was demanded unjustly on even the seed-bed lands, and as paddy-grain stored in houses, boiled rice, raw rice, gold, silver, bronze vessels, clothes etc. (of these ryots) were all confiscated (for non-payment of this tax),

as no measures were taken to redress these insufferable grievances in any way, even though seven *malavarāyamār* had been deputed to represent these facts to the king at Kalkulam, and the Pōttimars, Pandālas and the members of the *Svarūpam* had also been informed of these troubles,

as Muttu-Pillai had attacked Darśanamkōppu with his horses and troops, blockading all the fourteen entrances (into it), making the cows and cattle to starve there for three days without drinking water, breaking the pots of the poor women who came to draw water, and looting the paddy and other grain stored in the houses,

and lastly, when the inhabitants in a body had migrated to Kadukkara, Muttu-Pillai and Chīrambalam-Pandāram at the head of a hundred soldiers had surrounded us there demanding the payment of our dues on the spot, as we had to flee up the hills in terror when the four entrances of Kadukkara were closed and the whole village was plundered:—

all of us (*nāttārs*) having assembled in the stone-mandapa at Chempakārāmapuduvūr to the east of Ālagiyapāndiyapuram have passed these resolutions—namely,—

that the tax called *kōttaip-pānam* shall not be paid on the seed-bed lands,

that we shall bind ourselves to pay only the *añjālī* and the *mēlvāram* taxes, which had been existing previously on all our lands,

and that if *kōttaip-pānam* and *māttālpānam* be ordered to be paid on *dēvadānam* and *brahmadānam* lands over and above the usual *añjālī* and *mēlvāram* taxes, we (of both the *nāḍus*) will be prepared to meet in a body and resist the imposition by a united stand, and migrate to another place, even leaving the (partly) cultivated *piśānam*-crop (behind).

While (matters are) thus, if any one—he be a *piḍāgaikkāran*, or *ūrkāran*,—were to betray the proceedings of this assembly, by receiving some bribes (say, ten

panam) or submit to the payment of the unjust taxes, he shall be answerable both in person and with his property.

When we have migrated elsewhere insisting on our rights and privileges, we will demand fit retribution for the high-handed death of the *ambalakkārar* (village-chiefs).

When we are thus in power, no *ambalakkāran* from our division, shall be allowed to be employed as revenue-farmers;

and if the government should cause any loss by confiscation from any *pidāgai*, village or the house of any individual, this shall be made good from our common funds.

If in the period of our succession, any one happens to be found in the village and is caught by the officials, we will not compensate for his losses, but he shall be answerable to us along with his effects and relations.

We will demand reparation for the damages of the two houses in each of the three sub-divisions, which was unjustly sanctioned by the king, when formerly we (the assembly) had exercised our legitimate powers, and that, if the government does not make good the loss in this matter, we shall meet it from our common funds

When we have sworn in the assembly not to make certain payments, if any person from the two divisions (of Nāñji-nādu) serve as an accountant under the government, write up accounts, or compromise our affairs, he shall be made to suffer by forfeiting his property

Thus, while according to these happenings, the government have granted (us) an order (respecting our prerogatives), and we have also decided among ourselves in full council, if anybody take up arms and serve on the other side, he shall pay a similar penalty and he who transgresses the laws and customs of his respective class, shall be also similarly punished.

If the king's army be encamped in our territory, we shall represent the matter before the king, and will by joint effort by preparing to emigrate elsewhere, see that the military camps are removed

Thus shall we conduct ourselves according to the standing rules of our assembly.

If any person attempt to dissolve our union, he shall incur the accursed sin of having butchered a cow on the banks of the Ganges; on the other hand, the person who tries to consolidate our union shall reap the supreme benefit of having given a cow to a brahman on the banks of the same river (Ganges).

Promising to act thus unsweringly so as to preserve the rights of our assembly, we swear in (the names of) the gods Tānumālva-perumāl and Bhūta-līṅgam.

Thus for having written this unshakeable bond of union, on behalf of the inhabitants of the north and south divisions (of Nāñji-nādu), this is the signature of Ārumuga-Perumāl.

No. 79—Olai-document of Kollam 899.

- 1 கிழக்கு நின்னும் இராணுவங் குதிரையும் வரந் நான்குநாடடில் இதநகாட்டு வெளியில் பரளயம் செயிது சுசீந்திரத்து ஆற்றினு கிழக்கு வழக்கம்பரையிலும்
- 2 பாளையமுஞ் செயது இரணியசிங்நவலவூரில் வீரவீரையில் பாளையமுஞ் செயிது இருநது நான்குநாட்டிலே மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை தளிசங்கெதம் உளப்பட கருமக்கெடு வருக-
- 3 கொண்டு யெண்ணூற்றுத் தொண்ணூற்று ஒன்பதாமாண்டு பசானம் மெலவாரம் பாட்ட உபையம் பலிசை உளப்பட்ட வகைக்கு கொட்டைக்கு கரல களிவரகவும் கற்பித்தமைக்கு
- 4 யெண்ணூற்றுத் தொண்ணூற்று ஒன்பதாமாண்டு
- 5 ஆனிமாதம் இருபதாந் தெயிதி கற்பித்தமைக்கு வட வகை தென்விதி நாடமைந்த பொக்கு நீட்டு
- 6 திருவுள்ளமாய நீட்டு [11]

Translation.

As, on account of the troops and cavalry from the east which were encamped on the plains near Īttankādu in Nāñji-nādu, near Valukkampārai to the east of the river at Suchindram, and on the Vīravilai in Iraniyaśiṅganallūr, the *sankētam* lands of temples etc. have suffered damages, and we, (the king), have remitted one-fourth on every *kōttai* (of tax) of *mēlvāram*, *pāttam*, *uḥḥayam-paliśai* on the *paśānam* crops of the year eight hundred and ninety-nine, this is the order which we were pleased to issue to those of the north and southern divisions (of Nāñji-nādu) on the 20th day of the month of the Kollam year 899

No. 80—Olai document of Kollam 900.

- 1 கிழக்கு நிருதும் அரமணையா வகை இராணுவம் குதிரையும் கொண்டு அழகப்பன் முதலி கூர் னுலு தை மீர் இருபத்திரண்டாந் தெயிதி முதல் வைகாசி மீர் உடுடுவ வரை
- 2 திருப்பதிசாரத்திலும் பெருவளையிலும் தெருசரங்கொப்பிலும் புலியூர்குறிசசி பிலாவளையிலும் இரணியசிங்நவலவூர் கிழக்கெ பிறத்தது சாலியனவளையிலும் பரளயம்
- 3 செயிது படை கொருக கொண்டும நான்குநாடடில் மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரை படை வருக கொண்டு முன்னர் எண்ணூற்றுத் தொண்ணூற்று ஏழாமாண்டு
- 4 கார் முதல் தொள்ளாயிரமாண்டு சூர வரை பெருமபற்று தழிசங்கெதம் உளப்பட்ட வகைக்கு மெலவாரம் பாட்டம் உபயம் பலிசை அளந்து நீக்கி ஒளள குடிசுகை
- 5 எற்பொப்பட்டதும் நெது துழாயிரமாண்டு பிசானம் தொருப சனங்நவ தளிசங்கெதம் உளப்பட்ட வகையில் மங்கல முதல் மணக்குடி வரைக்கு ஒளள வகையில் (stops here).

Translation.

As Alagappan-Mudali was encamped with the royal troops and cavalry of Aramanaiyār (Nāyaka kings) from the 22nd of Tai to the 25th of Vaikāṣi at

Peruvilai in Tiruppatisāram, Darsanamkōppu, Pīlāvīlai in Puliyūrkunichchi and the eastern Śāliyanvīlai at Iraniyaśiṅganallūr, and as there was fighting in Nāñjīnādu from Maṅgalam to Manakkudi, the balance of taxes *mēlārām*, *pāttam*, *ubhaiyam paḷisai* which was not measured from the *kār* (harvest) of the year 897 to the *kār* (harvest) of the year 900 on the *perumparru* and *tali-saṅkētam* lands, was remitted; and from the *piśanam* season of 900, the *saṅkētam* lands from Maṅgalam to Manakkudi . . .

No. 84—A Telugu copper-plate of Queen Minakshi: Saka 1660.

The subjoined Telugu inscription is engraved on both sides of a single sheet of copper-plate measuring $8'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$, with a circular projection 1" in diameter in the middle of the top. The document is in the possession of a Muhammadan family residing at Trivandrum. It was kindly sent for my examination by Mr. M. C. Narayana Pillai, B. A., Hon'ble Magistrate of Trivandrum, and I edit it with the help of the ink-impressions, that were prepared under my supervision.

The record which is dated on a Friday, the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the Māgha month in the Śaka year 1660, Kālayukti, whose English equivalent is, according to the *Indian Ephemeris*, A. D. 1739, Friday, February 9, '47, '27, belongs to the time of the dowager-queen Mīnākshī of Madura. It registers the royal gift to a Muhammadan fakir named Imām-Sāhib of some lands in Śīvalappēri *alias* Muddu-Vēṅkatalakshmīpati-bhūpāla-samudram in the Tinnevely District, which, according to this record, was comprised in the Tiruvadi-rājya (or the Travancore dominion), while the latter is said to have formed part of the Trichinopoly-Madura-samsthānam, which has been bestowed on the Nāyaka dynasty by the Vijayanagara kings.

The preamble of the inscription gives the following meagre genealogy, contenting itself with the preliminary mention of the name of Viśvanātha-Nāyaka the founder of the Madura Nāyaka dynasty, and those of the husband of the queen-donor and of his two immediate predecessors on the Madura throne.

Viśvanātha-Nāyaka of the Kāśyapa-gōtra.

|
Chokkanātha-Nāyaka
|
Raṅgākṛishna-Mudduvīrappa
|
Vijaya-raṅga-Chokkanātha
|
His Queen
Mīnākshammagāru.

A summary of the short reign of this queen, the last representative of the Madura Nāyaka dynasty, will be of interest.

Soon after the death of Vijaya-raṅga-Chokkanātha (A. D. 1706-32) in February 1732,¹ his eldest queen Mīnākshī assumed the reigns of government.

1 *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, (R. Satyanatha Ayyar, 1924) p. 230.

with the help of her brother Venkataperumāl-Nāyaka¹, and, being childless, she adopted Vijayakumāra, a member of the younger branch of the royal family. But Bhaṅgāru-Tirumala, the natural father of the adopted prince, claimed the right to the throne to himself, and this unfortunate dissension between these two rival claimants afforded a good opportunity to the Nawab of Arcot, who had been waiting for some plea for a southern invasion. Constituting himself as an arbitrator and seconded by Chandā-Sahib, Safdar Alī Khan, the son of the Arcot Nawab, marched on Trichinopoly and decided in favour of Bhaṅgāru's title to the succession. But a heavy bribe of a crore of rupees offered by Mīnākshī bought off to her side the wily Chandā-Sahib, who had been left behind to enforce the Nawab's orders, and for the time being, the queen was left in undisputed possession of Trichinopoly. Soon after in about A. D. 1736, Chandā-Sahib returned to Trichinopoly and posing as the queen's partisan defeated Bhaṅgāru-Tirumala at Annamāyakkannūr. Taking advantage of her helpless condition, he also abrogated all the power to himself and imprisoned her in her own palace. The unfortunate queen realising, when too late, the sequel of her own folly in having quarrelled with her kinsman and in having trusted the Muhammadan adventurer, took poison and died in her prison². As Bhaṅgāru was, sometime later in about A. D. 1746, presumably poisoned by Anvar-ud-din, and as his son Vijayakumāra was hounded from place to place and had to find an ignominious asylum with some loyal polegars, the Madura dynasty may fitly be considered to have terminated with Queen Mīnākshī.

The date of the queen's death is mentioned to have been A. D. 1736³, while Mr. Rangachari says it was A. D. 1737⁴. But the present record, if it is genuine, shows that queen Mīnākshī may have been living as late as the 9th February 1739, which is nearly three months prior to the date of her demise, as given in the *Maduraittalavaralāru*⁵.

Although some of her predecessors and some Rannad Sētupatis had made similar⁶ endowments to Muhammadan religious institutions, Mīnākshī's donation to the fakir, Imām-Sāhib, has the additional significance of indicating her complete subservience to Chandā-Sāhib and the influence wielded by him in her court.

Śivallappēri *alias* Muddu-Vēnkatalakshmīpati-bhūpāla-samudraṁ, wherein the lands were situated, is a village in the Nanguneri taluk of the Tirunelveli District, and must have in those days formed part of the Travancore dominions. The Travancore kings had extended their kingdom to the other side of the Ghats in the first half of the 7th century of the Kollam era, and though they were dispossessed of these tracts by Mafuz-Khan and others, the district of Kalakkād was finally ceded to them in A. D. 1760 by the Nawab, through the intervention of the East India Company.⁷ Gōvīndappayya, the father of the Secretary

1 Mr. Rangachari mentions two brothers Vēnkata Nāyaka and Perumal Nāyaka—*Ind. Ant.* 1917, p.

2 For a fuller account of this queen's chequered reign, Nelson's *Madura Manual*, *Ind. Ant.*, for 1917 and the *History of the Nayaks of Madura* (R. S. Ayyar) may be referred to.

3 *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 234, n. 3.

4 *Ind. Ant.* 1917, p. 213.

5 *Maduraittala-varalāru*, p. 6.

6 cf. *Sevell's Antiquities*, Vol. II.

7 *Trav. State Manual*, Vol. I, p. 379.

(*rāyasam*) Śivarāmayya who wrote this document, was one of the two generals of Queen Mīnākshī who took part in the battle of Ammayanāyakkanūr in which Bhaṅgāru-Tirumala was defeated.

Although the Vijayanagara dynasty, hemmed in as she was by her enemies and recalcitrant viceroys on all sides and dismembered to a fragment of her original greatness by various vicissitudes of fortune, had disappeared from South Indian politics as an imperial power with the death of the last sovereign Śrīraṅga III in about A. D. 1676,¹ it is noteworthy that as late as A. D. 1739, the Madura queen acknowledges the suzerainty of a king called Śrīrāyala-dēvunivāru. Two other copper-plate documents of this queen dated in Ś. 1654 and Ś. 1655 refer to a Vēṅkatadēvarāya as the overlord, while two more records of a chief called Kāmākshī-Nāyaka, dated in Ś. 1661 and Ś. 1663, mention the names of Rāmarāya and Śrīraṅgarāya, as the suzerains at the time. It is therefore possible that the Śrīrāyala-dēvunivāru is a scribe's error for Śrī [rāma]rāyala-dēvunivāru, the medial 'rāma' having been omitted by mistake.

The subjoined table gives the names of the Madura Nāyakas of the 17th century of the Śaka era and those of their suzerains, which have been mentioned in their copper-plate documents. As the Madura Nāyakas, who were originally the Viceroys of the Vijayanagara kings in their far southern dominions, had asserted their independence by the time the imperial dynasty came to a close with the death in about A. D. 1678, of Śrīraṅga III, the last of the Vijayanagara kings of the Karnāta line, the fact, that the later Nāyaka rulers still continued to refer to some suzerains, has no more significance than the perpetuation of a time-honoured but superseded political terminology. But as these quotations of the names of the overlords are consistent, it looks likely that some powerless scions of the family continued to nurse their atrophied greatness in some corner, and that the Madura Nāyakas continued their expressions of verbal loyalty to these innocuous representatives of the once powerful imperial house.

Sewell No	Śaka date	Madura Nāyakas and Chiefs	Vijayanagara suzerains.	Remarks
20	1600	Muttu-Alakādrī	Śrīraṅga III or IV?	
168	1622	Do	Narasimha (Ghanagiri)	The date Ś. 1622 is wrong, as the Nāyaka had died in A. D. 1689.
53	1614	Mangammāl	Śrīraṅga (Kanakagiri)	Vijayaranga was prince at Madura at the time.
.	1623	Do	Vēṅkatadēva (Ghanagiri)	No. 3 of 1911 (M. E. R.)
110	1628	Do	Do (Ghanagiri)	.

1 *Introduction to the History of Nāyakas*, p. 27.

Sewell No	Śaka date	Madura Nāyakas and chiefs	Vijayanagara sūzerians.	Remarks.
..	1630	Vijayaranga-Chokkanātha	Do (Ghanagiri)	No. 1 of 1915 (M. E. R.)
50	1638	Do.	Śrīraṅga (Ghanagiri)	...
109	1646	Do.	Mahādēvarāya (Ghanagiri)	The proper name of the king appears to have been omitted.
44	1649	Do.	Vēṅkatadēva (Kannakāma) Ghanagiri?	Venkatavēma (Sewell, II. 44) is evidently a misreading for Venkatadēva.
33	1651	Do.	Śrīraṅgarāya	...
49	1654	Mīnakshī	Vēṅkatadēva (Ghanagiri)	...
...	1655	Do.	Do. (Ghanagiri nagara)	Sewell, I. 267. No. 71. (Sewell II. 9) mentions a chief Vēṅkatapati (A. D. 1733).
...	1660	Do.	Śrīrāyadēva	The present record.
43	1661	Kāmākshi-Nāyaka	Rāmarāya	...
1	1663	Do.	Śrīraṅgarāya	.
60	1665	Do.	Vēṅkatarāya	..
48	1713	Vijaya-Vēṅktāchala Reddi	Vēṅktapatidēva (Ghanagiri)	...
45	1714	Do.	Do.	..
46	1715	Do.	Do	...

Text.¹

First side.

- 1 Svasti śrī [*] Vijayābhyudaya Śalivāhana Śakābdam-
- 2 bbulu 1660 Prabhavādi samvatsarambbulu 51² mī-
- 3 datan-āgunēti Kālayukti-nūna samvatsaram Mā-
- 4 kha śu³ 12 Śukravāramunnu Punarvasū-nakshatramu-

1 From ink-impressions prepared under my supervision

2 Engraved below the line.

3 A letter like *da* is engraved below *śu*, so as to make *śuddha*.

5 nnu śubhayōga śubhakaranamunnu kūdina śubha-dma-
 6 mañddu śrīmat-Kāśyapa-gōtra-jātulaina Madhura-sam-
 7 sthānādhipatī Viśvanātha-Nāyanayyavārī varisāmam-
 8 ddu jātulaina Chokkanātha-Nāyanayyavārī putru-
 8 laina Rānggākṛishna-Muddu-Vīrappa-Nāyanayyavārī pu-
 10 trulaina Vijayaṅga-Chokkanātha-Nāyanayyavārī
 11 pattamahishi ana Śrī-Mīnākshammagāru pakiri-guruvu-
 12 lu Imām-¹Śāyibuku ichchma tāma-śāsana kra-
 13 mam etlannanu [¹*] Śrīman Mahāmamddalēsvara mahā-
 14 rāja rājamakutōpalālita akhamddita-sām-
 15 mrāja-lakshmī-nivāsa-bhūtadēva-mahārājulaina
 16 Śrīrāyalu-dēvunivāru māku pālmchchi ichchi-
 17 na Tiruchanāpallē-Madhura-samsthānamamddu Tiru-
 18 vadi-rājyāna Tinnevellitō chērīna Śīvallappē-
 19 riki pratināmamaina Muddu-Vēṅkatalakshmīpati-bhā-
 20 pāla-samudramulō Peddacheruvu kimdda tūrupu
 21 madava² nīllu pārē tūrupu-ketla³ mūdō kaṇṇ[ā]⁴-
 22 rulōnu katla śekharamugānu kaiyyalu 9 tki⁵
 23 vittanam kōta 1-nm Tinneveli-pyāta⁶sūkamu-
 24 lō dinam 1-kī telupulu kī 2 lekha adittum-
 25 ddu rūkalunnu 1-ramddu mānyamulunnu pa-
 26 kīri-guruvulu Imām-Śāyibuku śudha sarva-
 27 mānyamugā kattada jēśi tāmmra-śāsana[mu-
 28 nnu] vrāśi ichchināramu [¹*] ganka ī⁷kōtadu [vi-
 29 ttana]mulō kaligina nīdhi-nīkshēpa-⁸jala-taru-

Second side.

30 pāshān-ākshiny-āgāmya-siddha-sādhyamu-
 31 laniyēdi ashta-bhōga-tēja-svāmyamula sa-
 32 hitamugānu putra-⁹pauṭra-pāraparyamugānu
 33 Śrī Mīnākshamūa vrālu¹⁰
 34 āchandrārka-sthāyigānu dānādi vini-
 35 maya-vikrayamulakunnu yōgyamugā-
 36 nu ī-bhūmī kōtēdu vittanamunakunnu ī-
 37 adittumddu dinam 1-kī telpulu kī 2 kinnī ī-
 38 dē tāmmra-śāsanamugā kattū vumchchukoni

- 1 Śā looks like nā
- 2 This occurs in the Tamil portion as *lāī marai-ppāchchali*.
- 3 Read *katla* as in other places
- 4 *nnā* looks like *nm*.
- 5 The Tamil portion gives *అకాశము*
- 6 Read *sumācamu*
- 7 Read *kōtēdu*.
- 8 *pa* is engraved below the line
- 9 *pau* is not clear in the impression and looks like *pā*.
- 10 This is the sign-manual of the Queen.

- 39 sukhāna anubhaviṃchukonēdī [i¹] yī dharmāna-
 40 ku yevvamdainān-ēmi vighātamu chēstē vā-
 41 mdū brahma-kshatriya-vaiśya śūdra-varnamu-
 42 lalōni-vāṃd-aitē Kāśilōnu brahma-hatya
 43 gō-hatya mātru-pitru-hatya chēśina pāpā-
 44 na pōgalavāṃdū [i²] turukavāṃd-aitē muṇḍāru¹ pā-
 45 pāna pōgalavāṃdū [i³] ī-kramānaku rāyasam Gō-
 46 viṃddappayya komārumdu Śivarāmayya viśēśina
 47 tāmra-śāsanani [ii¹] Dānapālanaḥ or-madhyē dānā-
 48 chehrēyō-nupālanam dānāt-svargam-avāpnōti
 49 pālanād-achyutam padam [ii²]
 50 கைததடி சிவலபபெந்நில் கீளமடை-
 51 டபாச்சலில் கீளகட்டளையில்² ஈல உரு செ
 52 தடி கவச மீர் உ உரி- ஈரு தடி உ வ உ உரி
 53 ஈரு தடி உ உ உ வறு எவ ஈரு ஈரு தடி ஈ
 54 கூமீர் ஈரு- கூரு தடி க உ உ ச மீர் உரி
 55 ஆக ஈல தடி கூகரு உ உ க ரு—

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity !

In the year 1660 of the glorious Śālvāhana Śaka era, which was the year Kālayukti, when 51 years had elapsed in the cycle of years beginning with Prabhava, on a Friday, the 12th of the bright fortnight of the Māgha month, which had Punarvasu-nakshatra, subha-yōga and subha-karaṇa—on this auspicious day, the following is the copper-plate record which we, śrī-Mīnākshammagaru, the senior queen (*pattamahishī*) of Vijayaṅga-Chokkanātha-Nāyanayyavāru, son of Raṅgakrishna-Muttuvīrappa-Nāyanayyavāru, and grandson of Chokkanātha-Nāyanayyavāru, born in the dynasty of Viśvanātha-Nāyanayyavāru of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, the lord of Madhura-samsthāna, gave to *Pakiri-guruvu* Inām-Sāyibu.

In the Tiruchanāpallē-Mathura kingdom, which Mahāmandalēśvara Śrī-rāyadēvunivāru, the great king who is the abode of goddess Lakshmi of uninterrupted prosperity and who is (*i. e.* whose feet are) carassed by the diadems of kings, has been pleased to bestow on us, in Śīvalappēri *alias* Muḍḍu-veṅkatalakshmiṇīpati-bhūpāla-samudram in (the) Tinneveli (Dt.) which is comprised in Tiruvaḍi-rājya, we gave as pure *sarvamānya* to *Pakiri-guruvulu* Inām-Sāyibu, the following two *mānyas*, namely,—

nine bits of land under the third sluice of the eastern *latla* fed by the channel flowing on the eastern side of the Peddacheruvu (big tank), having a sowing capacity aggregating to 1 *lōta* of (paddy) seed and two ³white *rūka* from the tolls⁴-collection(?) of the Tinneveli-pēta and gave a written document on copper

¹ The meaning of this item of sin is not understood

² The sowing capacity of the nine pieces of land are given in symbols

³ *Telupulu* appears to refer to some *silver* coins, specified by *rūkalu*.

⁴ *Sukumu* which appears to be a mistake for *Sunlamu*, refers to the 'tolls collection' of Tinneveli-petah, from which the fakir had to be paid 2 *rūkalu* daily.

Therefore, for this land of 1 *kōṭṭu* (sowing capacity) together with the eight-fold objects of income, namely, treasure-trove, water-source, trees, rock, *akṣhina*, *āgūmi*, the accomplished and the accomplishable, contained in it, and the *alottanlu* of two white *kū*¹ (coins) per day which shall be enjoyed in the line of succession of sons and grandsons and as long as the moon and sun exist, and which shall be eligible for disposal by mortgage or by sale—this shall be considered as the copper-plate document.

If any one raise any impediment to this charity,—if he is of the caste brahmana, kshatriya, vaiśya or śūdra, he shall incur the sin of having killed brahmins, cows and one's own mother and father, if he is a turukka (Muhammadan), he shall incur the *murudāru*² sin.

For this transaction, this is the copper-plate document written by the *rāya-sam* (secretary) Śivarāmayya, son of Gōvindappayya.

Of the two acts—charity and its protection—the maintenance of a charity is more meritorious than the charity itself—he who bestows a gift obtains *svarga* (temporary beatitude), but he who protects a charity attains the very abode of Achyuta.

[Il. 50–55 Tamil portion]—The pieces of land in Śivilappēri irrigable by the eastern sluice channel in the eastern *kattalai* and under the third sluice are—

		<i>marakkāl</i>	<i>nāli</i>	<i>uri</i>
the second field (<i>sey</i>) one <i>tadi</i> (in extent and having	the sowing capacity) of	4	1	1
the third <i>sey</i> , two <i>tadi</i>	“ “	3	1	1
the fourth <i>sey</i> , two <i>tadi</i>	“ “	2	7	1½
the fifth <i>sey</i> , three <i>tadi</i>	“ “	6	5	.
the sixth <i>sey</i> , one <i>tadi</i>	“ “	4	.	1

in all, land nine *tadis* (in extent and having the sowing capacity) of one *kōṭṭai* and one *ulakku* (of paddy-seed).

No. 82—Copper-plate grant of Mafuz-Khan: Saka 1666.

The subjoined record is engraved in Tamil and Hindustani characters on both sides of a single sheet of copper-plate, which is in the possession of a Muhammadan at Trivandrum. It was secured for me on a short loan by Mr. M. C. Narayana Pillai, B. A., and from the ink-impressions prepared therefrom, the inscription is edited below. For the decipherment and translation of the Hindustani portion, I am indebted to Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, M. A., Director of Archaeology of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad.

The record is dated in Śaka 1666, corresponding to A. D. 1745, March 29, and relates to the gift of the *kuttakar* rent from *Aipputturai* in the Tinnevely Dt amounting to 78 *rēkhai-pon*, which was ordered to be paid over in

1 *kū* seems to be a contraction of the name of the coin

2 This is not understood

twelve monthly instalments of 6 *pon* and 5 *panam* per month to a Muhammadan priest Miyaṇ Sheik Ahmad-Kabīr, son of Hazarat Miyaṇ Imām-Sāhib. At the time of the record, Tinnevely has been described as

அயதராபாது சுபையுடனே சோந்த ஆற்காடு திருச்சிராப்பள்ளிச் சமஸ்தானத்தில் தெட்டி னராசசியம் திருநெல்வேலி,

i. e., as the southern governorship of the Āikādu-Trichinopoly kingdom which was in its turn a *subah* (dependence) of the Hyderabad dominions.

The donor was Maḥfūz Khān, son of Muhammad Anvar-dī Khān-Bādar, Nawab of Arcot (A. D. 1744-49, and the Anvar-ud-din of Indian history who was killed in the battle of Āmbūr in A. D. 1749. Maḥfūz-Khān was apparently the governor of Madura at that time, and his sphere of influence must have extended to the Tinnevely district also. Four years later he was imprisoned by the French at Ambur, and, though the eldest son of his father, he left his claims to be superseded by the second son Muhammad-Āli, the ally of the English East India Company, and was content to continue as governor of Madura. His final revolt against the Nawab of Arcot and his successive defeats at the hands of the Travancore kings Bālmārttānda (1729-58) and Rāmavarmān (1758-98) are events of later history, subsequent to the date of this copper plate document.

Makkam is of course Mecca, the holy place of pilgrimage of the Muhammadans, Kālma is the second formula of the Muhammadan faith, and Kandiri is said to be a feast observed by them.

Text.¹

First side

- 1 உ சவஸதி திறி சாலிவாகனசகாததம் ௧௭௪௩ -
- 2 சுயசு னமெலச செலலாசினற கொலலம்² கூடஉடு.
- 3 ஹுஸு டெர்தன ஹுஸு சித்திரை மீர் கதி சககுறவாரமுடி ௮-
- 4 ஹவபடஷததுச சததரியும் புணாபூச நடசெத்திரா-
- 5 மும் பெத்த சபபொக சபகறண சபதினத்தல் மீர்-
- 6 லக் சகலகுண சம்பனனரான மகாமெருசமான-
- 7 தீரரான ராசமானிய ராசஷத்திறி அசரதது கிபிலெ ந-
- 8 வாபுசாயபு மகமது அவைவார்கான பாதா குமாரா
- 9 மஹமது பாபூசககரானவர்கள் குருக்கள அசரது மியா
- 10 இமாழு சாயபு அவர்கள் குமார மியா செகு அமமது கரீர
- 11 அபாகளுக்கு அரிபபுத்தறைக்கு தாமபிரசாதனம் என்னு-
- 12 தக குடுதத நிறமாணமாவது [1¹] அயதராபாதுச சுபையு-
- 13 யுடனெ சொந்த ஆற்காடு
- 14 திருச்சிராப்பள்ளிச் ச-
- 15 மைஸத்தானத்தில் தெட்ட- A¹
- 16 டிணராசசியம் திருநெ-
- 17 லவெலியில அரமணைக்க-
- 18 ரை வரசலுடனெ செ[ர*]ந்த
- 19 அரிபபுத்தறைக்கு தத்தகை ஹுஸு கக்கு ரெகை ஷ எயஅ
- 20 கக்கு [தவணை] யஉ ஆக மீர் ககக தவணைக்க ஷ கூ ஸ்ரும வர்-

1 Registered as No 1 of the Trav Epig Colln for 1099 M. E.

2 The English equivalent of date is A. D. 1745, March 29, Friday.

3 The Hindustani portion marked A occurs here.

- 21 தம் உள்ள பணம் அசரது மீயா செகு அமமது க-
 22 பிர சாயபு அவாகளுக்கு யினுமாச கிடிகுந்-
 23 ததுச சறுவமானிபமா *க கட்டையிட்ட-
 24 படிநாலெ யிருத அரிபபு ததுறைமை
 25 புதகிர பவுத்திர பாரமபரிபாரக ஆசசந்திர-
 26 ககம் B¹
 27 கையயாடி-
 28 ககொண்டு அனுப பிசசுக கொண்டு வருவா-
 29 களா *வு [1*] இநதபபடிச சயிபபொது இந-
 30 கநிற தொதபதியும் இனிமொல வநதநா-
 31 களும் இந் பபடிசகு நடதகவிசசுகொண்-
 32 டெவரு வாரகளாகவும் [1*] *துக்கு பதா மொ நவா

Second sile.

- 33 இநது மொம சத்திரிய [வசு]-
 34 கு *கிர யிருத நாலு வனனத்திலு
 35 எப்பட்ட பொ விசாதம் பண்ணின
 36 ல காசியில் கெங்கைக கரைமில்
 37 பொல்லாத சொருமான பாவம் பண
 38 ணின தொஷத்திலெ பொவாசளாக-
 39 வும் [1*] முசலுமான என்னப்பட்ட கவிபா-
 40 வுக்கு உளபபட்ட பொ விசாகம் பண-
 41 ணினால் மகத்ததிலெ பொல்லாத தொ-
 42 டுரம ந பாவம் பணணின தொஷத்தி-
 43 லெ பொவாசளாகவும் [1*] இநதத தற-
 44 மகாரியம் பரிபாலனமாக நடத்திவி-
 45 சசு வநதவாகளுக்கு முசலுமான என்னப-
 46 பட்டவாசளாகு மகத்ததிலெ ஆயிரம் அசசசு செ-
 47 யக நனமையும் பெத்து ஆயிரம் கந்திரி செய்த நன
 48 மையும் பெறுவாசளாகவு [1*] யிருத தறமத்திலெ
 49 நாலு வனனத்திலு எப்பட்ட பொ காசியிலெ கெங்-
 50 கைக்கரையிலெ ஆயிரம் அகவமெ[த*] யாகம் பண-
 51 ணின புண்ணிய மும் பெத்து ஆயிரம் சஷத்திற பொ-
 52 சனம் பண்ணிவிசச புண்ணிய மும் பெறுவாசளாகவும்
 53 யிடபடிக்கு யிருத அரிபபுததுறைக்கு தாமடுசா-
 54 தனம் எளுக்க குநிததொம் அசரது மீயா இமாரு
 55 சாயபு அவாசளுக்கு நவாபு மகமது மாபூக்கான சாயபு அ-
 56 வாசள [1*] இநதச சாதனம் எளுக்கென திருநெல்-
 57 வெலி நாட்டுக கணக்கு கந்தகவரமி உவ

Translation.

In the year 1666 (expired) of the Salivāhana-Saka era, which was the cyclic year Krōdhana and Kollam 940, on Friday, the 1st day of the month of Chit-irai, which was one of saptamī (tuhi) of the first fortnight with Punarpūsam- (nakshatra) — on this day. in śubha-yōga and śubha-karaṇa, the following copper-

1 The Hindustani portions marked B and C occur here

plate document relating to Aripputturai was engraved and granted to Hazarat Miyā Shēku Ahmad Kabīr, son of Hazarat Miyā Inamu Sāhib, the *guru* of Muhammad Māfūz-Khān, the son of the illustrious Navāb-Sahib, Muhammad Anavardī Khān-Bādar, who is endowed with all good qualities and who is like unto Mēru in his greatness

We were pleased to bestow on Hazarat Miyā Shēku-Ahmad-Kabīr-Sāhib, as *inām*, the sum of 78 *rēkhai-pōn* per year or in 12 instalments at the rate of 6 *rēkhai-pōn* and 5 *panam* per instalment each month, which was derivable from the Aripputturai lease in Aiamanaikkarai-vāsāl which is in Tannevelly, the southern dominion in the Arcot-Trichnāpalli-samasthānam of the *subah* of Hyderabad, and we have declared it to be *sarvamānya*. This Aripputturai shall be enjoyed in the lineal succession of sons and grandsons and as long as the moon and the sun endure. The ruler who is now governing, and those who may come hereafter, shall have this gift conducted accordingly.

If any Hindu included in the four castes (*vanna*) of *brahma*, *kshatriya*, *vaishya* and *sūdra*, should cause obstruction to this (gift), he shall incur the sin of having committed some terrible crimes on the banks of the Ganges at Kāśī. If any one of the Mussalman sect under the Kalimā¹ obstruct (it similarly), he shall incur the sin of having committed heinous crimes at Mecca.

Of those who protect this deed of gift, a Mussalman shall obtain the merit of having performed a thousand *achchu*² at Mecca and of having performed a thousand *kandiri*³, and to him of the four castes shall accrue the merit of having performed a thousand *āsvamēdha* sacrifices on the banks of the Ganges at Benares, and of having fed a thousand (brahmins), a thousand times.

Thus did we, Navāb Muhammad Māfūz-Khān write the copper-plate charter relating to Aripputturai to Hazarat Miyā Imām-Sāhib⁴.

I, Kandasvāmi, the accountant of Tannevel-nādu wrote this document

Texts of the Hindustani portions

A

Mutasaddiyānī hāl va istaybālī Ta 'Ulūya Tirnāopallī
bidānand ki hāl māh shash chakra
panjah falṁ (?) mahsulī arbkānanast darobast hasbu' l-
hukm mablaghi mazkūr dar khidmatī Miyān Ahmad Kabī
nand (?) maqarrar numūda shud Bāyad ki mahsulī
mastūr māh bemāh bamushārun ilāh mī rasānāda
bāshand Kī an ra muma-ilāh sarjī wajha ma 'ishat
larḍa badū 'ūi darulati abad muddat mashghul bashand

1 *Kalimā*, *Achchu* and *Kandiri* are Hindustani terms.

2 Apparently Imām-Sāhib, the recipient of the gift in Śaka 1660 from Queen Minākshī was living in Śaka 1666, when his son Ahmad Kabīr was granted the income on some lands by Māfūz-Khān.

3 This Hindustani portion has been engraved in the space against the lines 13 & of the first side of the plate.

B Do
 C Do

ll. 26 7 of the first side
 ll. 33 45 of the second side

*Batarīkh shashum shahri Rabī 'u'l-awwal
sann 1158 Hījri tahrīr yāft
Parwana Nawāb Muḥammad Muḥfūz Khān Sāhib ru Qibla
madda Zillāhu 'l-'ālī. Dastkhati Khass*

B

*Dar khidmati Miyān Ahmad Kabīr mahsūli arbkhāran shash
chakra panjā falm (or qalam) nazr numūda shud
az ghurrah Rabī 'u 'l-awwal sann 1158 Hījri
Dastkhati Khāss*

C

*Shah dastkhati khass Nawab Muḥammad Muḥfūz Khān
Sāhib Qibla madda zillāhu 'l-'ālī dar Khidmati Miyān
Ahmad Kabīr mahsūli arbkarān shash chakra panjah falm
nazr numūda shud
As Ghurrah Rabī 'u 'l-awwal 1158 H
Navishta Hākimu 'u'l-waqt Muḥammad Anwar Khān dāma iqbalahu*

A

The present and future officials of the Ta'lluqa of Tirunaopalli should know that every month the entire sum of six *chakra*, and five *panam* on account of the revenue collected from the tenants, which under (royal) orders has been assigned to Miyān Ahmad Kabīr Nand (or Shāh) be paid to him regularly (lit from month to month), so that the aforesaid (Ahmad Kabīr) maintain himself by the above endowment and pray for the everlasting prosperity of the State.

Written on the 6th of Rabī 'I, 1158 H. (1745 A D). Parwana issued by Nawab Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Sāhib Qibla, may God lengthen his high shadow (*i e* may he long remain the protector of people)!

B

For the service of Miyān Ahmad Kabīr, the revenues amounting to 6 *chakra* and five *panam* are assigned.

First of Rabī, 1158 H. (1745 A D). Special (Royal) signature

C

Special signature of Nāwab Muḥammad Maḥfūz Khān Sāhib *madda zillāhu 'l-'ālī*

The revenue due from *Arbkhāran*¹ (or Aripputtuṭṭai—in the Tamil portion) amounting to six *chakras*, and five *panam* is assigned for the service of Miyān Ahmad Kabīr, with effect from the 1st of Rabī 'I 1158 H (1745 A D)

Written by the Governor of the time, Muḥammad Anwar Khān, may his glory ever last!

1 Note by Mr Yazdani—"The terms *Arbkhāran*, *Chakra* and *Panjā Qalam* (or *falm*) are not quite clear to me. *Arbkarān* (as far as I can guess) may mean tenants or cultivators." This term *Arbkarān* is found transcribed in the Tamil portion as அரிப்புத்தூர் 'arippuṭṭuṭṭai, revenue which was granted as *mām* to the Muhammadan Fakīr. As for *chakra*, is the *rekhā pon* and the *pañjā-falm* is five *panam* (a *panam* is both of a *rekhā pon*) of the Tamil portion

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(Prepared by Mr. K. Sivaramakrishna Sastri)

Pandit Assistant.

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1 Figures refer to pages, and 'n' after a figure to foot notes. The following are other abbreviations used —

ch = chief, cha = channel, co = country, di = district or division; do = ditto, dy = dynasty, f = female, k = king, m = male, mo = mountain, pl = place, ri = river; s a. = same as, sur = surname, te = temple, vi = village or town

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